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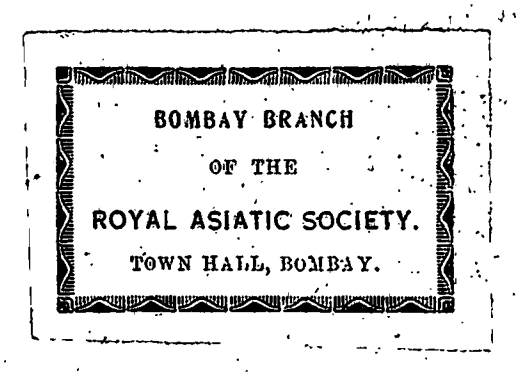

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

WITH

NOTICES OF HIS DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARIES.

Compiled, chiefly from the Atterbury and Stuart Papers,

BY

FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "LIVES OF THE ENGLISH CARDINALS," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF CHARLES I.," ETC., ETC.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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PREFACE.

BEAUFORT and Wolsey of the Anglican Church, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in their secular importance were followed by the Primates Laud and Williams of the Reformed Church of England. The impression the last two left upon the minds of the rising generation of Churchmen (the "young Levites") was not permitted to fade. Even during a period of great trial to the clergy, some of the ablest evidently kept before their eyes those remarkable exemplars of united Church and State influence just mentioned. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, seems to have entertained notions of again exercising a similar amount of political sway; but his royal patron happened to be averse to ecclesiastical statesmen, and instead of playing the part of premier, he had to be content with that of historian.

In a contemporary he met with a Protestant Churchman equally ambitious but better principled, while singularly accomplished, eloquent, and enterprising. As the favourite chaplain of Queen Anne, Francis Atterbury was enabled to surround himself with the master minds which distinguished the *Renaissance* of English literature under her auspices; as her favourite prelate he was equally the centre

of its political celebrities. Bishops were then very active in the senate, as well as particularly industrious in the study; and Atterbury spoke and wrote in a manner that marked him out as being peculiarly adapted for administrative employment. His royal patroness chanced to close her reign somewhat suddenly, and the more popular party in the State promptly and skilfully established the Elector of a minor German State as her successor.

In furtherance of the late Queen's known wishes, her confidential counsellor had held communications with the exiled Royal family. The new sovereign—at the suggestion, no doubt, of a rival—chose to put an affront upon him in reply to an act of courtesy. Having received this intimation of displeasure, the Bishop of Rochester was the more readily induced to join the large body of noblemen and gentlemen who preferred an English to a German Prince.

Looking down from the vantage ground of the nineteenth century, nothing is easier than to denounce a "meddling priest" for taking the losing side in the game of politics; but, in justice, the transaction ought to be judged in connection with the surrounding circumstances. It may be admitted that the Stuarts were not worthy of being again restored; but the spirit of fair play which should characterize an Englishman must condemn the atrocious scheme to which the most corrupt minister of his age had recourse, for the purpose of securing the expatriation and ruin of an opponent who thought he had good reason for believing they deserved a second restoration. The grossest act of

despotism was committed by a majority in the two houses of the legislature against the leader of the minority, and this has been supplemented by constant persecution and calumny. The truth has been carefully concealed. Long after Bishop Atterbury's death, the evidence that would have exposed the malice of his enemies was guarded with the most jealous supervision.

All such arts, however, failed in destroying his reputation. During his lifetime, an attempt at biography was perpetrated; and subsequently the writers of the "Biographia Britannica" included him in their compilation. It was not till the year 1783 that John Nichols published two volumes of "The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester, with Historical Notes." In the preface the Editor acknowledges that "he once entertained some degree of prejudice against him, which he since discovers to have been ill founded." This was so well received, that Mr. Nichols issued another collection the following year, a third in 1787, and a fifth in 1795—the last a volume entitled "The Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, with Historical Notes." It commences with a brief memoir, which contains no account of his proceedings after his exile. The correspondence is extremely inaccurate, and several series of *errata* were printed chiefly to correct the mistakes published in the "corrections."

Notwithstanding that the government of Sir Robert Walpole abstracted a considerable portion

of Bishop Atterbury's papers after his decease, his family preserved many interesting memorials of him, including faithful transcripts from the originals of letters to and from his private friends. These were prepared for the press by a son of the Bishop's son-in-law, the Reverend William Morice, Rector of Tackley, near Woodstock. To the notes he added, I have appended his initials. During his labours he applied for permission to inspect the contemporary State Papers and the Stuart Papers, and was denied.* He attempted a biography, but this was merely a repetition of the names, incidents, and dates to be found in Chalmers's and other biographical dictionaries. Of the Bishop's later life and correspondence he knew nothing.

At Atterbury's death a considerable portion of his correspondence was claimed by the Pretender, and carried to Italy. Cardinal York, as the sole survivor of the exiled Stuarts, became the custodian of the papers addressed to his brother, his father, and their ministers, and presented them to the Prince Regent. They have remained among the Royal MSS. ever since, access being permitted only to a few favoured individuals.

In the year 1847, Mr J. H. Glover, then Her Majesty's Librarian, was permitted to publish a volume of the Bishop's correspondence while the latter was in the service of the nominal "James III." It is much to be lamented that this task was not given

* The Bishop had bequeathed his papers to his son-in-law, therefore the legal right to their possession was in his family. They have recently been purchased by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co.

to one of the able editors of the State Papers, that were published under the superintendence of Sir Samuel Romilly, the Editor's loyalty apparently having caused him to practise an amount of reticence respecting the Jacobite author of the letters, likely to be far from satisfactory to the historical student. Nevertheless, the volume, though awkwardly arranged and most perplexingly illustrated, is extremely valuable for the broad light it throws on the administrative career of one of the most distinguished statesmen of his time.

The "Atterbury Papers," consisting of original documents and equally trustworthy transcripts, have furnished an important portion of the materials of these volumes. An equally interesting portion is derived from the "Stuart Papers;" and other collections have been drawn upon when necessary.

Worthy of high appreciation must be the man who was warmly loved by Pope, revered by Wesley, admired by Steele, and honoured by Swift; who was the centre of that brilliant social circle that included Busby, Dryden, Addison, Prior, Congreve, Gay, Arbuthnot, Garth, Radcliffe, Parnell, Rowe, Dr. William King, Dean Aldrich, Lords Orrery and Stanhope, Drs. John and Robert Freind, Locke, Newton, Bentley, the able critic, and Bingham, the learned divine.

Nor was he less an object of regard to the rival interests struggling for pre-eminence at court, represented by Marlborough, Shaftesbury, Sunderland, Godolphin, Halifax, Somers, Lansdowne, Dorset, Harcourt, Bathurst, Bolingbroke, Oxford,

Buckingham, Walpole, Carteret, Townshend, and Pulteney—not forgetting the fair candidates for power, the Duchesses of Marlborough, Buckingham, and Queensberry, and Lady Masham. In his own profession he was honoured with the affection of Bishops Trelawney, Gastrell, and Smalridge, and Dr. Sacheverell; though he excited the hostility of Hoadly, Wake, Burnet, and Tenison. Such were his coadjutors and opponents to the period of his arbitrary banishment, when he was obliged to mingle in a new set of associates, who endeavoured to support the claims of the son of James II.—the Dukes of Ormonde and Wharton, Lord Marischal Keith, Lochiel, and the rest of that brilliant staff of adventurers and enthusiasts who sacrificed their fortunes or their lives in his service—including the traitors who took bribes to betray its secrets.

Particularly worthy of notice will be found Atterbury's relations with his home circle; for as he was honoured as a prelate, and esteemed as a statesman, he was loved as a parent. The episode in his career in which his daughter figures, must be classed amongst the most touching ever narrated.

An actor of such prominence in the historical drama then in course of performance, ought not to be denied his claim to honourable fame because he chose to commit himself to legitimacy when that cause was embraced by an important section of the intelligence and wealth of the country. The Editor therefore confidently appeals to his readers in favour of this victim of party vindictiveness. It is scarcely necessary to assure them that in doing honour to

the man who, for honesty, consistency, and disinterestedness, ought to be considered the marvel of a corrupt age, they may, without reproach, forget the Jacobite. He never would have been one had he been fairly treated. He was forced into the service of the Pretender. When he found those patriotic anticipations which first induced him to support the cause were not likely to be realized, he was willing to acknowledge his error; but the injustice that produced his banishment maintained it till his death, and has ever since raised a senseless clamour against his memory.

We have for more than a century been content to look at the History of England, during the reigns of George I. and II., from the Walpole point of view. That there might be another, comprehensive observers have long been satisfied. Its aspect from the standing point now selected will be found to present some remarkable features. If not quite so picturesque as the familiar one, it possesses the recommendation of being a great deal more true.

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

BISHOP ATTERBURY.

CHAPTER I.

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

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THE Atterburys flourished for many years at Great Houghton, in Northamptonshire, and were an eminently religious race. Several in succession held preferment in the Church of England. Francis, rector of Middleton Malsor, or Milton, in the same county, who had a numerous family, in 1648 subscribed

the Solemn League and Covenant. He had then a son Lewis, who the previous year had been entered a student of Christ Church College, Oxford, and in February of the year following obtained a Bachelor of Arts' degree. Lewis Atterbury continued his studies during the startling events that were then affecting both Church and State, and on March 1, 1651, permitted himself to be created M.A. by dispensation from the very remarkable Chancellor of the University, Oliver Cromwell.*

The Presbyterians, who had been such active assailants of the Church of England, could not easily reconcile themselves to the supremacy of the Independents, for whose overthrow they engaged in plots; but Cromwell seized the plotters, and their leader, a popular preacher, Love, was executed at Tower Hill on the 22nd of August, 1651.

During the Commonwealth the Reverend Lewis Atterbury appears to have submitted to the Lord Protector's government, if he did not adopt his notions of theology, notwithstanding the struggle for pre-eminence between the Presbyterians and Independents, who now maintained the late relative positions of the Churches of England and of Rome. In 1654 he contrived to secure the rectory of Rissington in Gloucestershire, while three years later he was appointed rector of Middleton Keynes, or Milton, in Buckinghamshire. During this period the Anglican Church underwent strange changes. Her hierarchy was abolished, and her services more or less set aside.

* He resigned in 1657, and was succeeded by his son Richard. Wood, Fasti, II., 114.

An affectation of simplicity of doctrine and severity of manners, after the model of Scottish sectarians, had prevailed generally, but this was presently superseded by more rigid rules and a sterner appearance of sanctity.

The principles of the popular religion were singularly attractive. No man, it was averred, could be made pious by compulsion, nor be forced to adopt a particular ceremonial. True worship consisted in works of righteousness and mercy; false in injustice, infidelity, and oppression; and the civil magistrate was bound to encourage the one and repress the other. Religious quarrels were considered destructive to true religion, and punishments for difference of opinion were pronounced irrational as well as unjustifiable.

Cromwell caused these principles to be generally accepted; but, though a fanatic, his shrewd practical sense enabled him to put a restraint on the tendency towards extravagance of his more zealous supporters. He favoured scholarship, virtue, genius, and science; and among the many meritorious men he patronized—including the poets Milton and Waller, the patriot Andrew Marvel, and the scholars and philosophers Usher, Pell, Hartlib, and Hobbes—was Lewis Atterbury.

To the toleration that could afford a handsome funeral for the Archbishop of Armagh, the rector of Milton doubtless owed the quiet enjoyment of his preferment; and many a clergyman was permitted to do clerical duty in country parishes who prudently refrained from preaching against the Government.

This course the Anabaptists and Quakers declined to follow, and certain zealots of each sect were in consequence severely punished—the vain dreams of the Fifth Monarchy men obtaining from the vigilant Lord Protector of the Commonwealth a particularly rude awakening. Unmolested the Rev. Lewis Atterbury remained in Buckinghamshire, devoting himself to his parish, when news arrived in the autumn of 1658 of the death of Cromwell.

During the year of uncertainty that followed this termination of the Protectorate, the beneficed clergy who had conformed outwardly to the theological rule of its government saw that but one arrangement could save the nation from religious and political anarchy. As the army, after some hesitation, adopted the same idea, the exiled King was recalled. To ministers of the Church of England the Royal exile was especially indebted for whatever interest lay members of that community felt in his fortune. Dr. Barwick was indefatigable in his demonstrations of loyalty, but after running many risks, and enduring a strict imprisonment, he was sent over by the prelates to His Majesty for the purpose of making the latter acquainted with the position of the Anglican Church. Charles II. landed at Dover on the 25th of May, when Monk, who had the command of all the military force in the country, at the head of a numerous deputation of the nobility and gentry, placed him in possession of the kingdom.

The rector of Milton had married a few years before this apparently auspicious event, and now, being the father of a flourishing family, hastened to

take advantage of the new influence. He proceeded to town, and was well received at Court; he secured his benefices by institutions under the Great Seal, and obtained the appointment of Chaplain Extraordinary to the King's younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester; but as the Prince died on the 20th of September, his post could not have been very profitable.

The Rev. Lewis Atterbury, created Doctor of Divinity in the following December, had two sons—Lewis, born on the 2nd of May, 1656, and Francis, whose birth did not take place till March 6, 1662–3. Both were born at the rectory, which is in the parish of Newport Pagnell. Between the Restoration and the birth of the Doctor's second son, important revolutions had been effected throughout the country, particularly in the position of his brother clergymen. The hierarchy were restored to their rights, privileges, and possessions; nearly all the Presbyterians were dispossessed of the Church livings they had obtained; and the Anglican Church, under the direction of the Chancellor Hyde, Lord Clarendon, put in full possession of the authority it had exercised during the primacy of the unfortunate Laud. On the 17th of May, 1662, was passed the Act of Uniformity, to which the rector, with all persons, vicars and curates, subscribed his "assent and consent."

A petition from Edmund Hall, chaplain to Sir Edward Bray, was sent in May, 1661, for a recall of the presentation to Lewis Atterbury to the rectory of Broad Rissington, in Gloucestershire, stating that he had been presented to it by the patron of the

living, Sir E. Bray, four years before, but deprived because Sir Edward was sequestered, and he opposed to the existing Government. The petitioner avers that he returned to Rissington at the Restoration, and that his patron would be greatly prejudiced "should Atterbury, a person who served against His Majesty," be suffered to retain this preferment.* He addressed another petition about the same period, praying for confirmation of his title.

How the rev. gentleman appealed against had committed himself towards Royalty, as thus referred to, does not appear. His offence probably was having conformed to the religious opinions of the intruding Government, which he shared with many other Anglican priests. Indeed, in subsequent years, when reaction was strongest in a portion of the clergy, they were often reproached for their Presbyterian and Independent conformity.

The incumbent in possession evidently took advantage of his legal nine points, for he retained this preferment as well as the rectory in Buckinghamshire, though residing chiefly at the latter, where he brought up his family; educating his sons with great care till they were of an age to profit by the advantages of the first public seminary in the kingdom.

After the Benedictines had established themselves in England, their larger monasteries were not more famous as religious houses than as nurseries of learning. In several, schools of great local celebrity were founded, and one of the best was the College of St. Peter's, attached to the minster in the western

* State Papers. Domestic Series; Charles II. Green, I., 600.

suburb of the metropolis. It flourished age after age, producing scholars and divines remarkable for their attainments. The Reformation introduced a new order of things. The monks ceased to be the great educationalists of the nation; their school at Westminster was preserved, but before long it was established on a totally different system. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, who had received his schooling here, contrived that the forfeited possessions of the suppressed fraternity should be restored, to create a new foundation for a "third University of England." The new college of St. Peter's, as a nursery of instruction in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and the classics, thenceforward under the auspices of such able head masters as Adams, Passey, Udall, Randall, and Camden the historian, continued to be regarded as the best of our public schools. The brightest ornaments of Church and State laid there the solid foundation of their eminence, and the great families, as well as the families that desired to be great, either sent their sons to study there, or sought to have them placed among the forty King's scholars on the foundation.

The most celebrated master of Westminster, the scholastic autocrat who for half a century reigned supreme over generation after generation of schoolboys, was Dr. Richard Busby, whom Charles II. good-humouredly permitted to go covered before him, while he bore his hat in his hand, on the Doctor representing that his authority would be at an end if his scholars thought there could be a greater man in the world than himself.

Dr. Busby was the intimate friend of the elder Atterbury, who sent both his sons to profit by his teaching. Lewis left in the year 1674, and Francis remained six years at the school, experiencing all the benefits that could be derived from that famous *sieve* which produced so much scholastic talent in Churchmen and in statesmen of the first rank.* These were stirring examples to Francis Atterbury, and he devoted himself to his duties with an earnestness of purpose certain to secure profitable results. He, too, found himself associated with young adventurers scarcely less enterprising, who inspired him with a sufficient amount of emulation. Ten scholars on the foundation are annually sent to College, four to Christ Church, Oxford, and six to Cambridge, and they must be the best classics in the school. There are generally about thirty candidates, and those selected must have established a superior knowledge in Greek, by challenging their rivals to a display of their acquirements in that language. They were in the habit of committing to memory a variety of passages, and acquired a familiarity with several of the Latin dramatists by acting the plays of Terence and Plautus.

* Justice was subsequently done to this eminent educationalist by Steele, who wrote : "I must confess (and I have long reflected upon it) that I am of opinion Busby's genius for education had as great an effect upon the age he lived in as that of any ancient philosopher, without excepting one, had upon his contemporaries." He presently adds, "I have known great numbers of his scholars, and am confident I could discover a stranger who had been such with a very little conversation ; those of great parts, who have passed through his instruction, have such a peculiar readiness of fancy and delicacy of taste, as is seldom found in men educated elsewhere, though of equal talents." In conclusion he avers, "The soil which he manured always grew fertile ; but it is not in the planter to make flowers of weeds : whatever it was, under Busby's eye it was sure to get forward towards the use for which nature designed it."

Francis Atterbury had the advantage of making many school friendships that lasted through a long period of his active career. Jonathan Trelawney was a Westminster boy. He went, as usual, from the school to Christ Church, Oxford, at the age of eighteen (1668), and took his M.A. degree in 1675. He entered the Church, receiving some preferment in Cornwall, but his elder brother dying in 1680, he succeeded to the baronetcy, and was appointed to the bishopric of Bristol in 1685.*

Bishop Trelawney had, as was customary, left a name behind him, which, carved on the woodwork, kept his more aspiring successors in mind of the recompense that awaited the zealous student. Francis Atterbury had subsequently reason to remember this. The very Reverend Sir Jonathan Trelawney, baronet, visited the school as an old Westminster when Francis was in his last year of pupilage. Nicholas Rowe was a contemporary schoolfellow of Atterbury's, worked with him under the severe rule of Busby, with the usual result—proficiency as a scholar and inspiration as a poet. He produced several Greek and Latin compositions that were much admired by his contemporaries; and his early attempts at poetry were considered to be equally meritorious.†

His talent for tragedy presently displayed itself

* The bishop had a younger brother, Major-General Charles Trelawney, who survived till 1731.

† He quitted school to follow the profession of his father, who had attained the rank of Serjeant-at-law, leaving the studies at Westminster for those of the Middle Temple; where, however, he soon displayed his natural bias, illustrating the familiar couplet,—

"A youth condemned his father's soul to cross,
And pen a stanza when he should engross."

so conspicuously, that it attracted influential friends towards him, and under their auspices his career became exclusively literary.

John Dryden was another great example. Two of his sons were also educated at Westminster, and did not leave till they had been made excellent scholars. The elder, Charles, remained till the summer of 1683, and displayed proficiency in Latin verse in an address to Lord Roscommon, for his Lordship's "Essay on Translated Verse," published in the course of the following year. This was followed, in 1685, by a contribution in the same language to the Cambridge Monodies on the Death of Charles II., as well as by a description in Latin verse of Lord Arlington's gardens, for the second Miscellany of his father, to whose translation of Juvenal he contributed the seventh Satire.

The second son, John, was not less carefully instructed, but was subsequently, in consequence of his father's conversion, when sent to Oxford, placed under the care of Obadiah Walker. He contributed the fourteenth Satire to his father's translation of Juvenal.

Matthew Prior was kept at Westminster till Busby had made a scholar of him worthy of supporting the fame of the school, particularly in the composition of Latin verse. How he excelled in this accomplishment may be seen in his addresses to the Bishops of Rochester and Ely, and to Lord Dorchester, and in several of his short pieces. That his acquirements were above the average was also proved by his career at Cambridge, of which University he became a Fellow of St. John's College. Bishop Burnet's account

of him is disfigured by that party-writer's prejudices. Prior was the son of a London citizen, and is said to have been born in the metropolis on July 21, 1664.* He must therefore have been sixteen in his last half-year with Francis Atterbury. There were many more eminent school contemporaries and predecessors with whom the latter, as will be seen, resumed friendly associations during his career.

Whilst at school, young Atterbury explored the neighbourhood till he had acquired a pretty accurate knowledge of its attractions. After sufficiently familiarizing his mind with the rural beauties of Tothill Fields, he went further afield. Waller had recently attempted to do justice to an early effort in landscape gardening in this neighbourhood, in a poem entitled "On St. James's Park, as lately improved by His Majesty." That there must have been sufficient excuse for rambling out of bounds, is evident from the opening verse:—

> Of the first Paradise there is nothing found;
> Plants set by Heaven are vanished—and the ground—
> Yet the description lasts. Who knows the fate
> Of lines that shall this Paradise relate?

One of the marvels of "Eden's Garden," appears to have been the water, which the poet, apparently with a special call upon his imagination, calls the tide, the sea, and the river. Then the foliage is described:—

> For future shade, young trees upon the banks
> Of the new stream appear in even ranks;
> The voice of Orpheus, or Amphion's hand,
> In better order could not make them stand.

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* History of his Own Time, compiled from the original MSS. of his late Excellency Matthew Prior, Esq., 1740, p. 2.

The Court poet now ventures to anticipate:—

Methinks I see the love that shall be made,
The lovers walking in that amorous shade,
The gallants dancing by the river's side,
They bathe in summer, and in winter slide.
Methinks I hear the music in the boats,
And the loud echo which returns the notes;
Whilst overhead a flock of new-sprung fowl
Hangs in the air, and does the sun control.
Darkening the sky they hover o'er, and shroud
The wanton sailors with a feathered cloud;
Beneath a shoal of silver fishes glides,
And plays about the gilded barges' sides.
The ladies angling in the crystal lake,
Feast on the waters with the prey they take;
At once victorious with their lines and eyes,
They make the fishes and the men their prize.

The same vein of exaggeration goes on for a hundred lines. But nothing of the kind here described was seen by the young Westminster of that day, or has been known to his successor two hundred years later. The locality has seen many changes, yet never realized the fanciful picture painted by Edmund Waller, as he acknowledges in the opening sentence of his preface, "only to please himself and such particular persons for whom his talent had been exercised."

Proceeding to the ornamental water in the centre of the park, the scholars amused themselves by feeding the ducks, which had been the care of the Merry Monarch and his idle court, when the too ingenuous Pepys, or the prudent and virtuous Evelyn, made one of the loyal throng who looked on admiringly; and thence strolled into the Mall, where the imprudent Nelly, the more evil-disposed Duchess of Portsmouth, the haughty Castlemaine, and a score of other Court beauties, still displayed their attractions to the

licentious gaze of the Sedleys, the Ethereges, the Buckinghams, the Rochesters, and the other reckless spirits of a shameless age.

Young Atterbury and young Prior strolled with other adventurous "Westminsters" into the great promenade of fashionables, and there gazed admiringly on Beau Fielding taking an airing in his carriage, when that model fine gentleman behaved in the manner subsequently chronicled by a congenial spirit. After a characteristic speech, quite as offensive as vain-glorious, the very gallant hero is reported to have exclaimed, "Why, you young dogs, did you never see a man before?"

"Never such a one as you, noble general," replied a truant from Westminster.

"Sirra! I believe thee," answered the coxcomb. "There is a crown for thee. Drive on, coachman." *

Among the notables, over whom a few brief years before the sagacious Clarendon had been the presiding spirit, Atterbury could have distinguished the swarthy features of the heir to the throne, under one or other of the two mischievous influences that were shortly to bring much evil on his country—the female or the priestly—in gallant attendance on the mother of the Duke of Berwick, or absorbed in the deep-laid schemes of Father Petre. After witnessing the worship of the rising sun among the waiters on Providence, who appeared to dog the Duke's footsteps, the youth's attention was sure to be attracted to a short familiar figure, with fat florid face almost lost under an immense wig, nicknamed by the licen-

* *Tatler*, No. 50. Dated from "White's Chocolate House."

tious Rochester "the Poet Squab," and by other irreverent associates "Little Bayes," but known and honoured in the cloisters at Westminster as John Dryden.

In the year 1695 there was at Christmas a representation by the scholars of Dryden's "Cleomenes," for which Prior wrote a prologue that was spoken by Lord Buckhurst:—

Pish! Lord, I wish this prologue was but Greek,
Then young Cleonidas would boldly speak;
But can Lord Buckhurst in poor English say,
Gentle spectators, pray excuse the play?
No! witness all ye gods of ancient Greece,
Rather than condescend to terms like these,
I'll go to school six hours on Christmas day,
Or construe Perseus, while my comrades play;
Such work by hireling actors should be done,
Who tremble when they see a critic frown;
Poor rogues that smart like fencers for their bread,
And if they are not wounded are not fed.
But, sirs, our labour has more noble ends;
We act our tragedy to see our friends.
Our gen'rous scenes are for pure love repeated,
And if you are not pleased—at least you're treated.
The candles and the clothes ourselves we bought,
Our tops neglected, and our balls forgot.*
To learn our parts we left our midnight bed;
Most of you snored whilst Cleomenes read.
Not that from this confession we could sue
Praise undeserved—we know ourselves and you.
Resolved to stand or perish by our cause,
We neither censure fear or beg applause,
For those are Westminster and Sparta's laws.
Yet if we see some judgment, well inclined,
To young desert and growing virtue kind,
That critic by ten thousand marks should know
That greatest souls to goodness only bow;
And that your little hero does inherit,
Not Cleomenes' more than Dorset's spirit.

But both the Atterburys had left the school long before this. Francis, in the year 1680, at the head of

* An execrable rhyme.

the four selected for Oxford, all of whom Dr. Busby had passed through his "sieve," with what results their several careers have shown. His companions were Henry Mordaunt, Francis Gastrell, and Welbore Ellis. No one ever felt his obligation to the great master more profoundly than Francis Atterbury, and no one ever expressed them with so much scholastic fervour; evidence of which may be found in two Latin letters addressed to his distinguished preceptor after he had quitted Westminster.

The positions of the different classes into which the school was divided, and their various studies, have been thus described:—

> Next to the door the *first* and last appears,
> Designed for seeds of youth and tender years.
> The *second* next your willing notice claims,
> Her numbers more extensive, more her aims.
> Then, a step nearer to Parnassus' height,
> Look cross the school, the *third* employs your sight;
> There Martial sings, there Justin's works appear,
> And banished Ovid finds protection there.
> From Ovid's tales transferred, the *fourth* pursues
> Books more sublimely penned, more noble views.
> Here Virgil shines, here youth is taught to speak
> In different accents of the hoarser Greek.
> *Fifth*, those better skilled and deeper read in Greek
> From various books can various beauties seek.
> The *sixth*, in ev'ry learned classic skilled,
> With nobler thoughts and brighter notions filled,
> From day to day with learned youth supplies
> And honours both the Universities,
> Near these "the Shell's" high concave walls appear.*

Though these lines are of a later date, and refer to the great head master as a pictorial decoration only,—

> There Busby's awful picture decks the place,
> Shining where once he shone—a living grace;

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1739.

their details may be relied upon as representing the scene over which he presided in person, sitting under the "shell," when Atterbury and Prior were among his favourite scholars, and the inspiring name JOHN DRYDEN stood conspicuous among old Westminsters of a departed generation, carved by himself on one of the benches.

CHAPTER II.

OXFORD, AND "THE CHRIST-CHURCH WITS."

Christ Church College, Oxford, a Nursery of Humorists—Will of Jasper Mayne—Dr. William King—Dean Aldrich—Dr. Smalridge—"Old Westminsters" oppose Obadiah Walker's efforts to Romanize the University—Francis Atterbury writes a Defence of Luther—Penn the Quaker—Arthur Mainwaring—John Locke—Thomas Deane—Dr. Thomas Smith's Interview with James II.—The King's arbitrary Conduct towards the Universities—Dr. Radcliffe and Obadiah Walker—Literary Productions of Francis Atterbury at College—His Latin Translation of Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel"—His Remarks on Translation—His Admiration of Milton—Oxford during the Crisis—Atterbury and his Father—His Pupil the Hon. Robert Boyle—The Epistles of Phalaris—The Controversy with Dr. Bentley—Temple—Swift—Dr. William King—Atterbury's Share in the Controversy—"The Battle of the Books" and "Tale of a Tub"—Waller—Atterbury's Preface to his Poems—Lord Roscommon—John Phillips—Lowth—Addison—Steele—Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity"—Creed—Atterbury marries—Leaves Oxford.

Christ Church College, Oxford, was full of facetious traditions of former students and canons, who appear to have cultivated a taste for humour, occasionally not unlike that for which Rabelais was famous amongst his countrymen in a preceding age. Jasper Mayne was a writer of much divinity and talker of much profanity, a royal chaplain, canon of Christ Church, and Archdeacon of Chichester, who died December

6th, 1672, leaving a will in which he mentioned an old servant, whose bibulous propensities he appeared to encourage by bequeathing him a box containing something that would induce him to drink after the testator's decease. The man heard the will read, and hurried to take possession of the promised provision, anticipating nothing less than the run of the cellar, or unlimited credit at the tavern. He burst open the box and found—a red herring.

The community of this College acquired a particular recommendation, being known in the University as "The Christ Church Wits." One of them, Dr. William King, left Westminster School in 1681. At college his severe application has been exaggerated into reading and annotating twenty-two thousand volumes; nevertheless there is no doubt he was an excellent scholar. He also possessed humour and satire in no ordinary degree.*

While enjoying the reputation of a wit, he endeavoured to gain estimation as a critic and a divine, by an able reply to Varilla's attack upon the first and greatest of English reformers of the Church of Rome.† This appears to have been published in the year 1688, when he took his M.A. degree. He then devoted himself to the study of civil law, with a view to the profession of an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts.

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* See among numerous facetiæ his poem "Molly of Mountown," the heroine being a red cow of his, when he ruralized, instead of fulfilling important duties in Dublin, to which he got appointed about the year 1702. Much more amusing was his satire on Sir Hans Sloane, entitled, "The Transactioneer."

† Reflections upon M. Varilla's History of Heresy, Book I., tom. I., as far as relates to English matters, more especially those of Wickliffe.

Another "old Westminster," Henry Aldrich, was a canon in 1681, and soon after took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was one of the ablest tutors in the University, and became Dean of Christ Church, moreover was an intimate friend of Francis Atterbury. He came forward prominently against those enterprising Roman Catholics who were encouraged to attack the Church of England. Burnet published a high opinion of him.*

George Smalridge left Westminster School for Christ Church, May 17, 1682. He possessed a singularly amiable disposition, with much application, and soon gave evidence of superior attainments. His classical knowledge was fully appreciated at the University, and he lived to be one of her most celebrated scholars; but he distinguished himself in other labours that were equally esteemed. It had been constantly and confidently rumoured, since James had succeeded to the throne, that conversions to the Catholic faith were multiplying so rapidly that the Romanizing of the entire kingdom might soon be looked for. The universities were specially referred to as centres of this alleged movement, and the Oxford converts were reported to be in extraordinary abundance. Dr. Obadiah Walker, however, was not permitted to make such statements unchallenged. The old Westminsters lost no time in taking counsel on the critical state of

* "He examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond anything that had before that time appeared in our language." History of his Own Time. In the year 1687, Dr. Aldrich published his "Reply to two Discourses [by Walker] lately published at Oxford, concerning the Adoration of Our Blessed Saviour." Obadiah Walker animadverting on this, he wrote a "Defence" of it in the following year.

the Church of England, and resolved to do battle in her defence.

In May, 1687, the Popish master of University College having issued a pamphlet advocating the opinions James was endeavouring to bring into fashion, the following month Smalridge attacked it, and exposed the fallacy respecting the pretended extensive secessions. In August, this opening of the controversy was followed by his friend Atterbury, in a spirited defence of Luther—the first attempt of the kind that had been made by any member of the Anglican Church.* These productions eminently excited Protestant zeal, awakening the more apathetic Churchmen to a proper sense of their duty. It was not Oxford alone that engaged in the contest thus commenced. Every Anglican minister in the country, as well as every member of his congregation, were profoundly concerned in the issue; though probably few felt a deeper interest in it than the incumbent of Middleton Keynes.

The Roman Catholics taunted the Protestants with deriving their religion from a foreigner, oblivious of the fact that there were Church Reformers in England before Luther was born, and that their writings had inspired the reformation which had spread from Bohemia into Germany.† Atterbury does not seem to

* "An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation." The Considerations bore the name of Abraham Woodhead, though written by Walker. In the answer the author asserts, "Let the *spirit* of Martin Luther be as evil as it is supposed to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any single truth of that religion he professed; though upon a faithful enquiry it will be found that his life was led up to those doctrines he preached, and his death was the death of the righteous."

† The subject is treated fully in the Author's "Lives of the English Cardinals."

have been aware of the excitement on the subject that had existed in Oxford in the reign of Edward III., or else contented himself with a defence of the supposed originator of the reformed religion. The Preface shows with what spirit this was undertaken. He thus attacks the "Considerations:"—

When I first happened upon this pamphlet, and, by some peculiar beauties in the style, easily discovered its owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surprised. I could not have imagined that a man of so big a reputation as the author of "The Guide to Controversy"—one whose thoughts had for some years conversed with nothing less than œcumenical councils, popes, and patriarchs—should quit all those fine amusements for the humble task of life-writing and drawing of characters. It was mean prey, I thought, for a bird of his pounces; and the design he did it with made it ten times more a riddle. The doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two centuries, kept the field against all encounterers; and does he think they may be foiled at last by two or three little remarks upon the life and actions of a single Reformer? But it looks like a jest, when the irregularities committed by Luther in Germany are turned upon us here in England, as if anything that he said or did could affect a Church established upon its own bottom, and as independent of any foreign authorities as the crown her defender wears.

The young controversialist, with the same confidence in his own strength, adds:—

Luther's voice is indeed to us what our author terms it, "the voice of the stranger." And though we are always ready to wipe off the unjust aspersions cast upon him by his enemies, yet this is what we are obliged to, not as sons, but as friends. Whenever injured virtue is set upon, every honest man is concerned in the quarrel. But these last attacks have been so very feeble that had we for once trusted the cause to its own strength, it would have suffered but little damage. And I for my part should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of men in the world who have the vanity to think everything on their side unanswerable that does not receive a set reply; though at the same time they are pleased to answer nothing themselves. They fight,

indeed, all of them, like Tartars—make bold and furious onset, and if that does not do, they retreat in disorder, and you never hear of them afterwards.

William Penn was a Gentleman Commoner at Christ Church in 1660, but he does not appear to have left any trace of the rigid sectarianism he afterwards professed. When Atterbury joined this college, the founder of Pennsylvania had become a personage of large social influence. As a Nonconformist of special celebrity he was in great favour with King James and Father Petre, and known to be constantly at Court. The object of the King was transparent, and the Quaker was reputed to be turning Papist, which occasioned an interesting correspondence between him and Dr. Tillotson. In other communications Penn denied having anything to do with the King's religion, or his intentions; nevertheless he continued to be regarded with distrust by all friends of the persecuted Church, for which prejudice he suffered severely after William ascended the throne.*

Arthur Mainwaring was at Christ Church when James II. commenced his plan of re-Romanizing the country. His tutor was Dr. Smalridge, Atterbury's most cordial friend. All we know of the Doctor's political opinions at this period is that they did not accord with those of the King; nevertheless his pupil, several years later, in a periodical called "The Medley," set up in opposition to "The Examiner," represents him as a Jacobite. His High Church

* In 1686 he published "A Persuasive to Moderation to Dissenting Christians, &c., humbly submitted to the King and his great Council." Some interesting particulars of his conduct at Oxford will be found in Wilmot's "Life of Bishop Hough." This should be borne in mind in connection with his subsequent dealings with the Jacobites. Lord Macaulay, Hist. of England; V. 218, 231, 257; VI. 24.

predilections were made sufficiently clear, and as they implied a leaning towards hereditary succession, the approach from ultra-orthodox religious opinions to the cause of banished royalty was always open. Mainwaring made his own sentiments plain in a poem called "The King of Hearts," which was attributed to Dryden. Though the great poet disowned it, he named the author, and probably had seen the MS.*

John Locke was among the illustrious pupils of Dr. Busby, who retained him at Westminster till he was nineteen. Subsequent studies at Christ Church, Oxford, made him as able a philosopher as he was a scholar. His famous essay on the Human Understanding showed to what profit such studies had been directed at those pre-eminent nurseries of learning. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the truly great statesmen of this period, had given him several important employments; but he shared in the misfortunes of his patron, and then was an object of suspicion to the Government, who, in 1684, contrived to have him expelled the University.†

Thomas Deane, Fellow of University College, came to the assistance of Obadiah Walker, doubtless to the satisfaction of his co-religionist; but did not lessen the effect produced by the careful, argumentative, and

* Mainwaring made friends at Court who induced him to change his opinions, and he became not only a favourer of the revolution, but a zealous Whig.

† Lord Sunderland to Bishop Fell. "Whitehall, November 6, 1684. The King having been given to understand that *one Locke*, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has upon several occasions behaved himself very factiously against the Government, is a student of Christ Church, His Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student," &c.

learned performance of Francis Atterbury. This defence of Luther brought him into great repute with his superiors, with whom it laid the foundation of an attachment that considerably assisted his subsequent progress in his profession.*

Dr. Thomas Smith, one of the Fellows of Magdalen College, has left a detailed account of the proceedings of the King, Lord Sunderland, who had turned Papist, and Father Petre, the King's principal adviser. The Doctor, who was an eminent scholar and divine, had declined the Presidency of his college, in consequence of certain conditions attached to his acceptance of that dignity; and when required to acknowledge the Bishop of Oxford as President, he also acknowledged the King's supremacy "out of a principle of conscience and loyalty, as becomes a priest of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England." He appears to have been much consulted during the whole affair, nevertheless did not gain favour from either party.

Dr. Smith went to London, where this partial compliance was strongly censured; and Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Thomas Tenison, afterwards Primate, were averse to his publishing any defence. He shortly afterwards was admitted to the King's presence, and the interview is thus described:—

That night, having sent away my letter by a sure hand to Bishop Lloyd, in the morning a gentleman came to me in my lodging, telling me that the King, hearing I was in town, commanded me to come to his levée the next morning, which was extremely surprising to me.—Friday morning, November 25th.

* Among the Atterbury Papers, there is preserved a MS. dissertation (in Atterbury's hand), entitled, "The Ways that are taken to bespatter Luther."

I went to Whitehall. The King was then under the barber's hands—several lords and gentlemen attending, as is usual. Soon after, the King admitted me to the honour of kissing his hand, and called me into his closet, where he said he had heard well of me, and that I was a loyal and honest man. I answered that I had endeavoured to do my duty to his Majesty as became a loyal and honest man, for which I suffered a thousand reproaches. He bid me not to value them; and then he was pleased to tell me that he had a letter from the Bishop of Oxon, that the Demies were mutinous. I said that I had endeavoured to satisfy some of them, but I feared they were not to be wrought upon. The King was pleased to add these very words: "The College has been mutinous and factious ever since my brother was restored." Some little discourse happened about my having lived some time at Constantinople, and I thought fit to acquaint the King, that of late I had not been constantly resident in the College, but lived in London; which I thought proper to say, because I resolved to go down no more while things continued in this disorderly condition. After this short stay, the King said, "*Doctor, I thank you. I will stand by them who stand by me. You shall find it so,*" or words to that purpose. I most humbly thanked his Majesty, and was dismissed.

The crusade against the Anglican Church that had been carried on in the High Commission Court, was now to be directed against the universities. In February, 1687, the King had written to the authorities at Cambridge, commanding them to admit to the degree of Master of Arts a Benedictine monk, known as Alban Francis—unquestionably an illegal act; and on their exhibiting reluctance, the infamous Jeffreys, at the head of the new High Commission, deprived the Vice Chancellor Pechell, and bullied his colleagues—among whom was the illustrious Isaac Newton, Fellow of Trinity and Mathematical Professor. In Oxford, University College was in the same arbitrary fashion placed under the direction of

one bigoted Papist, and Christ Church under another. "The Wits" held indignation meetings, and wrote indignation rhymes. Probably neither talked nor wrote with much regard to decorum. One of the popular ballads had as a refrain,—

Old Obadiah
Sings ave Maria!

The crowning insult came in the King's appointment of an apostate scamp, named Farmer, as President of Magdalen College; nevertheless the Fellows exercised their privilege, and elected an excellent divine, Dr. Hough. The High Commissioner deprived him; but the unfitness of Farmer was so notorious, that Jeffreys could not contend against it, and when the Fellows respectfully, but firmly, insisted on the legality of the election made by them—in a letter addressed to the Earl of Sunderland, to which were appended the signatures of the Duke of Ormond, and the Earls of Halifax, Nottingham, and Danby—even the headstrong James hesitated as to taking coercive measures to support his second nomination. He visited Oxford, and endeavoured to force the election of the Bishop of Oxford by threats. This also proving ineffectual, Penn, the Quaker, was induced to attempt to cajole the refractory Fellows, but did not succeed, and his proceedings have drawn severe censure upon his memory.*

After this came a special commission, escorted by three troops of cavalry. Dr. Hough having resolutely defended his position, he was proclaimed an intruder, and the Bishop of Oxford put in his place. Subsequently all the Fellows were ejected, and pronounced

* Lord Macaulay, Hist. of England, Chap. VIII.

incapable of holding preferment. These senseless acts created an impulse in public opinion, which increased in force when it was known that Magdalen had been turned into a Popish seminary, with a Roman Catholic bishop (Bonaventure Giffard) as President.

The excitement in the universities extended over the kingdom. Every minister of the Establishment became aware that his position, as well as his religion, was in jeopardy, and frequent deprivations, forfeitures, and punishments of beneficed clergymen kept him in a constant state of alarm.

It seems that the royal promise brought no satisfactory result. The Protestant Fellows having been expelled, Papists took their places. Dr. Smith's expulsion did not occur till the 3rd of August, 1688, after which, October 3, Archbishop Sancroft and several bishops made a strong representation to the King. The Popish Fellows were dismissed, and the Protestants restored, Dr. Smith being of the number. He went back to Oxford, but became an object of suspicion, on account of his partial concurrence in the coercive measures of the King.*

Dr. Radcliffe was so influential a man in society, that James, after he came to the throne, set his heart on his conversion. He employed one of his chaplains and Obadiah Walker to effect this, when Father Saunders had failed. Dr. Walker, who had been his

* Biographia Britannica, VI. On July 25, 1692, Dr. Smith was forced to surrender both his Fellowship and his living (Heylesbury), for declining to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. He was an accomplished scholar, and devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, Keeper of the Cottonian Library, and the author of some thirty or forty different works. (See a list in Biographia Britannica, 3722, 3.) He died in London, May 11, 1710.

fellow student, lost no time in endeavouring to fulfil his royal master's wishes. After his best endeavours had proved fruitless, he addressed the following communication to the popular physician:—

University College, May 22, 1688.

Worthy Sir,

Were it possible for me to bring you to a true sense of your unhappy condition, in pinning your faith upon a few modern authorities of no credit, I should grudge no pains of producing more and more instances, which the inspired writers and the Fathers of the Church abound with. But since a man of your excellent parts and great knowledge in things that concern the health of the body, that is only to endure for a moment, thinks it of less weight to consult the welfare of your soul, whose pains and whose pleasures must be equally everlasting, give me leave to tell you, from a heart full of grief for your unwillingness to be converted, that I have left nothing unattempted to absolve mine, in relation to the argument you are so willing to drop the pursuit of.

You bid me read Dr. Tillotson upon the Real Presence, with his answer to Mr. Sergeant's Rule of Faith. I have done both with the greatest impartiality, and find no other impression from them than what fixes me in the profession of that faith, which, I bless God, after so many years of adhering to a contrary persuasion, I have, through his great mercy, embraced. I have entreated you to do the same, by another, whose judgments have ever been had in remembrance, and whose determination must be infallible, from the Holy Spirit that conducted them. And you send me word the duties of your profession bend your studies another way, and that you have neither heart nor inclination to turn over pages that have no value in them but their antiquity. This is indeed somewhat unkind; but the goodness you always received me with on every other occasion, and the regard you have shown, and say you will further show, to the foundation which I have been thought fit, howsoever unworthy, to preside over, engages me to make you as little uneasy as possible. I shall, therefore, pursuant to your desire, dismiss the matter, which I could willingly wish to hold longer in debate, on account of the reasons before mentioned; and since you seem

ardently to desire a mutual correspondence as to the other affairs, continue to oblige you in fulfilling every request you shall make to me.

In the meantime be assured that I shall be incessant in my prayers to the great God above, and to the Blessed Virgin for her intercession with the Lamb that died for the sins of the world, that you may be enlightened, and see the things that belong to the peace of your immortal soul. Who am, in all respects, worthy sir, your most obliged and most humble servant, O. WALKER.

It is quite plain from the foregoing that the writer never had any chance of succeeding with the physician; but to place this beyond the possibility of doubt, the latter replied as follows:—

Bow Street, Covent Garden, May 25, 1688.

Sir,

I should be in as unhappy a condition in this life, as you fear I shall be in the next, were I to be treated as a turncoat, and must tell you that I can be serious no longer, while you endeavour to make me believe what I am apt to think you give no credit to yourself. Fathers, and councils, and antique authorities, may have their influence in proper places, but should any of them all, though covered with dust 1,400 years ago, tell me that the bottle I am now drinking with some of your acquaintance is a wheelbarrow, and the glass in my hand a salamander, I should ask leave to dissent from them.

You mistake my temper in being of an opinion that I am otherwise biassed than the generality of mankind are. I had one of your converts' new poems in my hand just now—you will know them to be Mr. Dryden's, at first sight—and on what account they are written. Four of the best lines and most *apropos* run thus:—

> Many by education are misled;
> So they believe, because they were so bred.
> The priest continues what the nurse began,
> And thus the child imposes on the man.

You may be given to understand from thence that, having been bred by a Protestant, at Wakefield, and sent from thence in that persuasion to Oxford, where, during my continuance, I

had no relish for absurdities, I intend not to change principles and turn Papist in London.

The advantages you propose to me may be very great for all that I know. God Almighty can do very much, and so can the King; but you will pardon me if I cease to speak like a physician for once, and with an air of gravity, am very apprehensive that I may anger the one in being too complaisant to the other.

You cannot call this pinning my faith on any man's sleeve—those that know me are too well apprised of a quite contrary tendency. As I never flattered a man myself, so it is my firm resolution never to be wheedled out of my real sentiments, which are, that since it has been my good fortune to be educated according to the usage of the Church of England established by law, I shall never make myself so unhappy as to shame my teachers and instructors by departing from what I have imbibed from them. Yet, though I shall never be brought over to confide in your doctrine, no one breathing can have a greater esteem for your conversation, by letter or word of mouth, than, sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

JOHN RADCLIFFE.*

Dr. Radcliffe, the preceding year, had contributed to the College, of which Dr. Walker was the principal, the magnificent east window, in stained glass, representing the Nativity, in grateful remembrance of the education he had received there. Of the society he was still on the books as senior scholar; and it is to this benefaction that the President alludes in his letter. But the confidential medical attendant of the Princess Anne was not at all likely to commit himself to Popery if he could help it. Probably the friends with whom, as he intimates, he had been enjoying his wine, when he despatched his no-Popery declaration, may have included such convivialists as Charles Montagu, Prior, and other equally zealous and almost equally facetious Protestants: hence its

* Memoirs of Dr. Radcliffe, 17.

unequivocal spirit and its stinging allusion to apostasy and to Dryden.

Be this as it may, the correspondence must soon have been known in the University, and discussed with special earnestness by the Christ Church wits.

In the year 1682 Francis Atterbury had, while studying here, published a quarto volume of Latin versification, entitled, "Absalon et Achitophel: Poema Latina Carmine donatum." Dryden's well-known poem appears to have excited a little rivalry amongst the students, for a Latin version was produced about the same time by a scholar of Merton, William Coward, a physician. Atterbury was assisted in his by another Christ Church scholar, Mr. Francis Hickman.* His version was considered the best: the composition was not only an improving exercise in Latinity—it was a decided initiation into politics, and gave a bias to the translator's opinions which influenced the more active portion of his career.

In the original, Dr. Burnet, to whom the translator was to be opposed, is delineated as Balak: in "Sagar of Jerusalem," he found his future diocesan, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London; and in Zadoc his primate, Dr. Sancroft. The Hebrew priests of the poet were to be his fellow labourers in the ministry of the Church of England; and Jerusalem the London in which he was to flourish as a popular preacher. The two eminent public characters denoted in the title, were the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, and that much more able leader, the Earl of Shaftesbury; while certain other courtiers and statesmen,

* Anthony Wood. Athenæ Oxonienses.

whose acquaintance he was to form—Rochester, Halifax, and the Dukes of Grafton and Buckingham —were introduced to him as Hushai, Jotham, Othniel, and Zimri.

Though Atterbury could not speak French fluently, he made himself acquainted both with French as well as with Italian literature. He also produced an interesting compilation—a small volume, with a well written preface, under the title, "Anthologia, seu selecta quædam Poematum Italorum qui Latine scripserunt." It was published in London, in the year 1684. Warton has endeavoured to take the credit of the work from Atterbury, but the intensity of his political prejudices made him seize upon every opportunity of mentioning this excellent scholar disparagingly.*

Among the results of his classical studies were "Some Notes on Suetonius's Life of Horace;" "Something required by Lucian to make up the Character of a true Historian;" "Notes on Cæsar's Commentaries." He wrote, besides the version of Dryden's poem, two or three Latin epigrams and epitaphs, and an elegy; and among numerous translations there are preserved from Horace three odes and part of an epistle, an eclogue from Virgil, as well as an idyllium from Theocritus.† It has also been stated that he prepared a version of the Georgics, but there is no trace of such a work among his papers. Some remarks of his are inserted here.

* Chalmers. General Biographical Dictionary, 1812, includes it among his College productions. It is not mentioned in his life, inserted in the Biographia Britannica, 1747.

† Nichols. Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, II. 397; III. 503.

On Translation.

Looseness of interpretation has been encouraged by nothing more than that passage of Horace, perversely taken, "Nec verbum verbo," &c., which, by Cowley, Dryden, and a great number of our modern wits, is pleaded as a rule for translations in general. Whereas, if we have recourse to the two lines immediately foregoing, we shall find the sense of the words merely *relative*, and that no more is signified by them than this, that if you have a mind to have something drawn from another pass for your own, you must not play the interpreter too nicely:—

> Publica materies privati juris erit, si
> Nec circà vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
> Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
> Interpres.—

so that what is here urged seems rather to destroy than anyways advance this liberty of rendering; for in all cases but this, Horace requires a *faithful* translation, and therefore calls *every* translation so. Roscommon, I do not know how, has hit the true sense of these words in his *translation*, and missed them in his *preface* to it; for he there represents Horace as an enemy to *too faithful interpreting*. Tully has something akin to this of Horace in his "Tusculan Questions," the authority of which I the rather consider, because Tully himself was really a very fine translator. The words are—"Neque tamen exprimi verbum è verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent, cum sit verbum, quod idem declaret, magis usitatum." This, at first sight, seems a heavy censure of strict translation; but if it be looked into, it means no such matter. The occasion of the words is this: Cato is desired to explain the opinion of the Stoics upon a point. He pleads the difficulty of expressing himself on that occasion. Why so, says Tully—"Si enim Zenoni licuit, cum sem aliquam invenisset inusitatam, inauditum quoque nomen imporere, cur non liceat Catoni?" And then follow the words before cited. By which it is plain his reflection is aimed only at the strict and punctual translators of terms of art, who were for putting all kind of words into their own language, let them look ever so barbarously. This the following words plainly make out:—"Equidem soleo, quod uno Græci, si aliter non possum, idem pluribus verbis exponere; et tamen puto concedi

nobis oportere ut Græco verbo utamur, si quando minùs occurret Latinum; ne hoc Ephippiis et Acrataphoris potiùs quam proegminis et apoproegminis concedatur: quanquam hæc præposita rectè et rejecta dicere licebit."

Roscommon's "Translation de Arte Poeticâ" is a model for all translators—where he *does* translate, I mean; for he takes a liberty of leaving out what he does not think to his purpose. His design was, to frame a complete body of rules for writing: where anything is not useful in that way, he makes no scruple of leaving it out. His words are all pure and expressive, like Horace's. He thinks to the bottom of his author; and then does him right in expressing his sense. Sometimes (if I am not out myself) he misses his meaning; but it is rarely—very rarely, and perhaps even then he knew the true, and chose the false as more to his purpose. A man, however, should be cautious how he accuses him of this; because what at first sight will not perhaps seem to hit so exactly with his author, upon second thoughts we shall often find does; for my lord wrote at random the least of any man in the world. The greatest fault of his verse is its wanting variety in the number. It has but one kind of turn all over: when you have read a few, you have read all. He does not run one verse into another; but all his full stops, half stops, and almost commas too—every little division still ends the verse. He had been used so much to that way in rhyme (where it is a less fault, though a fault still) that when he turned his pen to blank, he could not alter it. After all, he is to me beyond all the commentators that ever wrote on Horace.

The best translation extant is that of the Bible. It is a scrupulous literal version; yet in its plainest parts maintains the perspicuity of the original, and the height of it in the loftiest. It was performed in King James's days, and yet the English is now as fresh as if it had been a work of yesterday.

Every language is in some measure capable of representing all the varieties of styles that are in any other, just as the same alphabet extends to all sounds. Sometimes, indeed, a guttural or so of another country will not come under the laws of our letters; but that is but seldom, and even then we may so order our letters as to come something nigh it. The truth is, if any author have anything so particularly its own that no counterpart

can be found in the other language, it is the language bears the fault, and not the interpreter. But, generally speaking, as languages had all one father, so they are not so far divided and subdivided in their branchings as not to have a great deal in them near akin at this day.*

A letter addressed to William Whitfield, M.A., a student of Christ Church, then in London, dated January 21, 1687–8, gives an account of Della Casa, a poet of a very licentious fancy. It is there stated that he presented a copy of improper verses to the Pope, in mistake for a petition, "which was said to be the reason why he did not rise to greater preferment."† This letter Nichols prints in the first volume of his "Epistolary Correspondence," &c., &c., but, as he subsequently discovered, Francis Atterbury was not the writer.

Atterbury was a fervent admirer of Milton, notwithstanding the poet's strong anti-Church and anti-university principles, with which feeling he joined his Dean in a subscription for a handsome edition of the "Paradise Lost," published in 1688, in which they were associated with Waller, Dryden, the Earl of Dorset, and many other distinguished characters. The author had been dead about sixteen years, but his extraordinary genius was cordially recognized by all true judges of poetical merit. An interesting evidence of Atterbury's study of the great poet may be seen in

* Atterbury Papers.

† These objectionable compositions of the Author of "Latina Monimenta," and "Galateo," belong to a very early period of his career; and his not rising higher than Archbishop and Papal Nuncio, appears to have been owing to his getting himself involved in the disgrace of Cardinal Alexander Farnese. Subsequently, Paul IV. permitted Della Casa's return from Venice to Rome, where he devoted himself to literary occupations till his death, in 1556.

a careful analysis made by him of the action of "Paradise Lost." *

It is impossible to exaggerate the interest Francis Atterbury took in the Romanizing proceedings at Oxford, as well as in those which followed when the scene was removed to London. The incarceration of the Seven Bishops, one of whom was an "Old Westminster," Sir Jonathan Trelawney, greatly increased his excitement, which did not abate in the university when it became known that the prelates of the Anglican Church had joined in sending an invitation to William of Orange. The Protestant champion came, and clerical excitement was at fever heat; the Popish oppressor fled, and a frenzy of congratulation seized upon the members of the rescued Church. It was long before the divinity students could resume their academical pursuits; then came reflection and examination, and the enthusiastic Churchmen began to experience some misgivings as to the value of the change they had helped to effect.

While exercising tutorial functions, Atterbury obtained as a pupil the Hon. Charles Boyle, a student in his college, to whose advancement he dedicated himself with remarkable assiduity. But it is evident that he longed for a more active career. He wrote to his father:—

Oxon, Oct. 14, 1690.

My pupil I never had a thought of parting with till I left Oxford. I wish I could part with him to-morrow on that score,

* It was preserved among the Walpole Papers, and has been printed by John Nichols, "Epistolary Correspondence, &c., of Bishop Atterbury," 5 vols.

for I am perfectly wearied with this nauseous circle of small affairs, that can now neither divert nor instruct me. I was made I am sure for another scene, and another sort of conversation, though it has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. I have thought, and thought again, sir, and for some years now—I have never been able to think otherwise than that I am losing time every minute I stay here. The only benefit I ever propose to myself by the place is studying, and that I am not able to compass. Mr. Boyle takes up half my time, and I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman, and while I am with him I will do what I can to make him a man. College and university business take up a great deal more, and I am forced to be useful to the Dean in a thousand particulars—so that I have very little time.

The Rector of Middleton Keynes did not approve of his younger son's dissatisfaction with his position, and wrote him a parental lecture by way of answer (Nov. 1st).

I know not what to think of your uneasiness. It shows unlike a Christian, and savors neither of temper nor consideration. I am troubled to remember it is habitual. You used to say, "When you had your degrees, you should be able to swim without bladders." You seemed to rejoice at your being Moderator, and of your *quantum* and sub-lecturer: but neither of these pleased you, nor *was* * you willing to take those pupils the house afforded you, when Master, nor *doth* your lectures please, or noblemen satisfy you. But you make yourself and friends uneasy —cannot trust Providence.

Do your duty and serve God in your station, until you are called to somewhat better. Man's ways are not in himself, nor can all your projecting change the colour of one of your hairs, which are numbered; and a sparrow falls not to the ground without a divine oversight. What may we think of our stations? You need not doubt but I could *wish* you all the great things you are

* The reverend gentleman, in his anger, loses sight of grammar—a very common fault in his day. The office held by his son will be presently noticed. The writer means that his son had desired to take pupils before he obtained his M.A. degree, and that since he had secured this he had become careless on the subject.

capable of, but I can neither secure them to you nor to myself, but must leave all to time and Providence.

The clerical Paterfamilias now ventures upon some details of Atterbury biography, that indicate the position of more than one member of the family.

I am not wanting in pains and prospect, and deny myself more in toiling and sparing than you ever did or will do; and all, I see, to little purpose, when it is of no better effect with you. It hath cost me several journeys to settle things with my brother; and your brother knows no more than he heard from me or his wife, for it was done in his absence, and he knows not, nor they, what I designed for you. Besides, I have obliged myself to be his bailiff as long as I live.

These sentences imply an arrangement in Francis's favour, which probably caused the subsequent estrangement of his elder brother. The writer then refers to the rectory he had held since 1654, in the gift of the Bray family.

And for Rissington it cost me long and wet journeys, besides expense. Madam Bray is very civil to me, without the Dean's interposing. I met her at the Wells. If she would give you the next turn on my death or resignation, it would be somewhat, but you may enjoy it better and without charge or loss of anything in Oxford, under my title—it may close with every preferment elsewhere better, when not charged with this. I know and have been assured that she had rather have me there than Chetwode,* and he hath another argument (besides his own expense) to incline him to peace, in that I can make him pay my charges, and refund our main profits. If you can do anything to make him sensible of it, it may do well.

The prudent father now directed his son's attention to a matter of interest to every young man desirous of rising in the world.

* Dr. Knightley Chetwode, Rector of Great Rissington. He became Dean of Gloucester in 1707, and died on the 4th of April, 1720.

"For matching," he writes, "there is no way for preferment like marrying into some family of interest, either Bishop or Archbishop's, or some courtier, which may be done with accomplishments, and a portion too; but I may write what I will, you consider little, and disquiet yourself much." He concludes, "that God would direct and reason you with His fear, is the earnest prayer of your loving father, LEWIS ATTERBURY."

The correspondence of the Hon. Charles Boyle with his tutor, does not impress on the reader a very high idea of the young man's talents. In November 15, 1691, he thus expresses his appreciation of the most profound thinker of his age: "I have just made an end of Locke. I was all along extremely pleased with him. I think there is a great deal of very good sense in him." He expresses opinions of the most distinguished philosophers and scholars much in the same tone.

Some reports to Mr. Boyle's prejudice reached Mr. Atterbury, who lost no time in bringing them under his attention. Mr. Boyle assured him in March that they were untrue, and that he would be more cautious for the future; nevertheless, he was presently again found fault with, which elicited from the young gentleman a touching remonstrance: "After having been three years your pupil, I am sorry, for your own sake as well as mine, you do not think me able to write my own letters." The effect of this evidence of his impatience he immediately tries to lessen by bearing cordial testimony to the kindness of his conscientious preceptor. There seems to have been some sort of disinclination on his part to parental as well as to scholastic control. He objects to going to Ireland with his mother (Mary, married to Roger, second

Earl of Orrery), never mentions his father, is not inclined to enter the army, and prefers a place at Court as Groom of the Bedchamber, which he hopes to get through the interest of Sir William Temple. Nevertheless, he went to Ireland and entered the army.

The tutor fulfilled his duty by him, and something more; he made a man of him,* and did his best to prove that he had made him a scholar. Mr. Boyle was not without ambition; his self-confidence is evident in the estimates he expresses in his letters of the authors he has read.

He now desired to edit a classical work, or come forward prominently as a distinguished author. An opportunity shortly presented itself. He set about a republication of a collection of letters, attributed to the Tyrant of Syracuse, who is said to have employed a brazen bull for torturing the victims of his cruelty. There was a MS. in the royal collection the young editor desired to consult, and he applied to the King's Librarian, Dr. Bentley, who behaved somewhat discourteously. In the preface to his volume the young editor sharply commented on this.

Dr. William Wotton wrote "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning," and Dr. Bentley appended to it a "Dissertation on the Fables of Æsop, and the Epistles of Phalaris." Bentley not only denounced the latter as spurious, but in rather arrogant language animadverted on Mr. Boyle for desiring to republish such fabrications. The tutor felt this attack quite as

* Subsequently proved at the head of his regiment at the battle of Malplaquet, after he had succeeded to the earldom.

much as the pupil, and resolved on publishing a fit reply. He devoted himself to the task with great assiduity, occasionally calling into counsel the ablest scholars of his college, leaving to Mr. Boyle merely a nominal share in the labour. The work was not published till 1698, when it appeared with the title, "Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop, examined by the Hon. Charles Boyle."

Sir William Temple entered into the controversy in favour of the ancients, referring to the Epistles of Phalaris as showing "such diversity of passion, such freedom of thought, such knowledge of life, and contempt of death, as breathed in every line the tyrant and the commander." Swift espoused the cause defended by his patron, and supported by many persons in Oxford, who treated him with particular consideration, during a visit he paid that university. A little later he acknowledged that he had been permitted to consider himself one of the Christ Church men. His sympathies in this direction were strengthened by his aversion to the arrogant bearing of the great critic, and having fallen in with Courtenay's "Histoire Poetique de la Guerre nouvellement declarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes," he improved upon it, and forwarded the result to his scholastic friends.

Pope subsequently gave Dr. Warburton a detailed account of the division of labour among the Christ Church wits, in dealing with the formidable critic:— "Boyle wrote only the narrative of what passed between him and the bookseller, which, too, was corrected for him. That Freind, the Master of West-

minster, and Atterbury wrote the body of the criticisms, and that Dr. King, of the Commons, wrote the droll argument, to prove that Dr. Bentley was not the author of the Dissertation on Phalaris and the Index; and a powerful cabal gave it a surprising run." *

The poet wrote at a considerable period after the transaction he ventures to describe, and could only have repeated hearsay; there is more trustworthy evidence available. Dr. William King had been rudely assailed by Bentley, but retaliated with interest.

Mr. Boyle, as the reputed author of a controversial work displaying much spirit as well as talent, rose suddenly into favour, on the strength of which he appears to have entirely overlooked his obligations. He seems, indeed, to have discouraged the services he received, and to have been dissatisfied with as well as undervalued them. His conduct elicited the following remonstrance:—

REV. FRANCIS ATTERBURY TO THE HON. CHAS. BOYLE.

Sir,

You might have sent these papers to anybody better than me, whose opinion all along in the controversy you have not seemed very willing to take, and whose pains in it, I find, have not pleased you. *In laying the design of the book, in writing above half of it, in reviewing* [revising] *a great part of the rest, in transcribing the whole, and attending the press*, half a year of my life went away. What I promised myself from hence was that some service would be done to your reputation, and that you would think so. In the first of these I was not mistaken—in the latter I am. When you were abroad, sir, the highest you

* Letters of Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, II.

could prevail with yourself to go in your opinion of the book was, that you hoped it would do you no harm. When you returned, I supposed you would have seen that it had been far from hurting you. However, you have not thought fit to let me know your mind on this matter; for since you came to England, no one expression, that I know of, has dropped from you that could give me reason to believe you had any opinion of what I had done, or even took it kindly from me.

Hitherto, sir, I have endeavoured to serve your reputation without your thanks, and against your will; but it does not become me always to do it. You will easily, therefore, excuse me if I meddle no further in a matter where my management has had the ill-luck to displease you and a good friend of yours; whereas, I had the vanity to think and hope that it would have sat ill on nobody but Mr. Wotton and Dr. Bentley. *

There is no trace of the fine gentleman condescending to answer this, nor of any subsequent attempt at authorship beyond the composition of a comedy. Mr. Boyle contrived to enjoy the fame which another's merit had procured for him, apparently fully satisfied with his claim. Mr. Atterbury never troubled himself further with the Boyle controversy: never even endeavouring to set right the opinion current at Oxford that the bold attack upon the overbearing critic was the joint production of "the Christ Church wits."

His schoolfellow, Smalridge, was in communication with Sir Jonathan Trelawney. By a letter from him to Atterbury, dated September 1, 1690,†

* Atterbury Papers. John Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, II. 21.

† The writer also refers to the Wottons:—"I send this by an honest warm fellow, W. Wotton, schoolmaster, of this town, and brother to a student of our house. If you are civil to him, with a due care of your health, I will not complain of it." He adds—"We are like at the assizes to have two very pretty

it appears that the Rev. Arthur Bury, rector of Exeter College, had written a work called "The Naked Gospel," and as it displayed Socinian principles, Bishop Trelawney had just caused him to be ejected. This extreme measure excited much comment, as well as some little controversy, including "An Apology for Writing the Naked Gospel."

In the following February Smalridge wrote again to Atterbury: "You are resolved to bestir yourself, you say, in your office in the house, foresee some trouble and ill-will, and are yet resolved for the good of the house. A hero! I suppose you expect to do little good but upon the Westminsters. No gruffness, I beseech you,—use them civilly, and stick to your point." He then recommends to him several works as likely to be of use to him as lecturer—Nicholson's "Exposition of the Catechism;" Bishop Chester, and Gill on the Creed; Dr. Jackson, and Oley. They were to help him in the catechetical lecture that had been founded by his schoolmaster.

Smalridge, writing to Walter, son and heir of Sir Henry Gough, of Perry Hall, Staffordshire, refers to Hickman, who was Master of Arts, July 6, 1688, and then states that Atterbury was one whose acquaintance would be of service to him. In a subsequent communication, March 22, 1697-8, he states, that he has read with pleasure the answer to Bentley, which is very much liked by all classes of

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trials here. One is Wotton's. He brings an action against a man for saying he was expelled St. John's for drinking the Devil's health." The other was even for a more infamous libel.

readers, and he considers the work well worth perusal.

The great critic, as we have intimated, was sharply handled by Dr. William King, who, a little later, thus addressed Atterbury on the subject:—

Give me leave, sir, to tell you a secret,—that I have spent a whole day upon Dr. Bentley's late volume of scandal and criticism; for every one may not judge it to his credit to be so employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading, as meanly as I think of his sense, his modesty, or his manners. If you have looked into it, sir, you have found that a person, under the pretence of criticism, may take what freedom he pleases with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any regard for another man's character who has once resolved to expose his own.

The writer then adduces instances of Bentley's "rude and scurrilous language," and refers to his volume as a "disingenuous, vain, confused, unmannerly performance." He adds:—

As to the particular reflections he has cast on me, it is no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor wish for better treatment from one that had used you so ill. It is reputable both to men and to books to be ill-spoken of by him, and a favourable presumption on their side that there is something in both, which may chance to recommend them to the rest of the world. It is in the power of every little creature to throw dirty language; but a man must have some credit himself in the world before things he says can lessen the reputation of another; and if Dr. Bentley must be thus qualified to mischief me, I am safe from all the harm that his malice can do me.*

Why literary controversy cannot be carried on in the courteous spirit that commonly characterizes less

* Nichols' Epistolary Correspondence, IV. 337.

intellectual contests, no one has been able to discover; but there certainly cannot be an excuse for the tone and manner of such critics as Dr. Bentley. His learning has never been denied; but, however great his superiority in this respect, it must not be permitted to sanction his overbearing manner towards a literary opponent. This was the result, no doubt, of an unfortunate temper, frequent displays of which threw much discredit on his scholastic career; but there was nothing in the subject in dispute that ought to have excited the provocations he gave.

We have a description a few years later, from a master-hand:—"A captain, whose name was Bentley, the most deformed of all the moderns; tall, without shape or comeliness; large, but without strength or proportion. His armour was patched up of a thousand incoherent pieces, and the sound of it, as he marched, was loud and dry, like that made by the fall of a sheet of lead, which an Etesian wind blows suddenly down from the roof of some steeple." * The remainder of the description is still less flattering. The other combatant is thus introduced:—"Boyle, clad in a suit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods, immediately advanced against the trembling foe."

The gods do duty for the Christ Church wits, of which Atterbury was considered the chief. The battle is brought to a speedy climax by Boyle throwing a spear that transfixes Bentley and Wotton like a brace of woodcocks.

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* "Battle of the Books," Scott's Swift, X. 253.

Swift's "Tale of a Tub" was a religious squib. The three sons of the man by one wife—Peter, Martin, and Jack—are supposed to represent the Pope, Luther, or Church of England, and Calvin, or the Nonconformists. The allusions to the former are attacks upon the Papacy. The Reformation is thus travestied: "Harry Huff, Lord of Albion," is represented engaged in a fierce contest with Martin, in which both were victorious.

How Martin's friends applauded his victory, and how Lord Harry's friends complimented him on the same score; and particularly Lord Peter, who sent him a fine feather for his cap, to be worn by him and his successors, as a perpetual mark for his bold defence of Lord Peter's cause. How Harry, flushed with his pretended victory over Martin, began to huff Peter also, and at last downright quarrelled with him about a wench.*

This work was eagerly read at Oxford, and particularly appreciated by the Christ Church wits.

Edmund Waller's family were from Buckinghamshire (his mother being the sister of John Hampden), though the poet was born in Hertfordshire. He became member for Chipping Wycombe, in the former county; his kinsman, Mr. Morley (subsequently Bishop of Winchester), was a student of Christ Church; hence, both at home and at college, Francis Atterbury found traces of the poet that must have given him a special interest in his works. Among them were charming traditions of high-born beauties, Saccharissa and Amoret (Lady Dorothy Sydney and

* Scott's Swift, X. 206. Dr. William King had previously written "A Dialogue showing the way to Modern Preferment;" "Dialogues of the Dead;" and "Journey to London."

Lady Sophia Murray), together with recollections, scarcely less pleasing, of his intellectual, his political, and his social eminence. The poet had kissed the hand of Charles I. in the garden of Christ Church College, before he engaged in the adventure for which his name became famous. He had immortalized the Lord Protector; he had been one of the choice spirits that constituted the court of "The Merry Monarch;" but the last years of his brilliant career were spent in retirement and devotion. He died on the 21st of October, 1687.*

A volume of Waller, published in the year 1668, appears to have been in frequent request with Francis Atterbury, probably during his college career. It contains numerous corrections by him—some unquestionable improvements. That he was extremely partial to this poet is evident, not only from the fact of his having compiled a collection of select passages still in his handwriting, but from his having written a preface to a new edition of Waller's works, containing a cordial commendation of his genius.†

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* Waller remained fashionable during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Steele says, "Ned Softly is a very pretty poet, and a great admirer of easy lines. Waller is his favourite, and as that admirable writer has the best and worst verses of any among our great English poets, Ned Softly has got all the bad ones without book, which he repeats upon occasion, to show his reading and garnish his conversation." He adds, with equal judgment, "Ned is indeed a true English reader, incapable of relishing the great and masterly strokes of this art, but wonderfully pleased with the little Gothic ornaments of epigrammatic conceits, turns, points, and quibbles, which are so frequent in the most admired of our English poets, and practised by those who want genius and strength to represent, after the manner of the ancients, simplicity in its natural beauty and perfection." *Tatler*, No. 163.

† This Preface, published in 1690, is thus noticed by Fenton, in his 4to edition of Waller, brought out in the year 1729:—

"It is generally known to have been written by a person whose fine genius and

As an advertisement for the volume, the preface is everything the publisher could have desired; but to less interested admirers of the poet, it may be considered a little too eulogistic, especially the opening assertion that Waller was "*the first* that showed us our tongue had beauty and numbers in it."

Lord Roscommon's poetry was also much admired by Francis Atterbury; but the man, on the testimony of his contemporaries, was no less worthy of study than his writings.

Pope thus distinguishes him:—

> Roscommon not more learned than good,
> With manners generous as his noble blood;
> To him the wit of Greece and Rome was known,
> And every other merit but his own.

The mind of the poet had become refined from the evil influences that had affected it in the vicious court of Charles II.; and he was engaged in forwarding noble designs for the advancement of literature, when his career was suddenly brought to a close on the 17th of January, 1684.

John Philips was also a contemporary at Christ Church, and distinguished himself among his classical associates. "The Splendid Shilling" was the first of his poetical works that attracted public attention. It became extremely popular, particularly with Dean Aldrich and other lovers of the weed, who, more than a century and a half ago, patronized the particular form of pipe still considered worthy

consummate learning have long rendered him one of the brightest ornaments of our age; and though it was a casual essay, composed in his youth, it is too finished a masterpiece for me to have expected either pardon or praise, had I attempted another dissertation."

Oxonian appreciation among Teutonic meerschaum and Oriental hookah,—

> Or some tube as black
> As winter chimney, or well-polished jet,
> Exhale mundungus, ill-perfuming scent!
> Not blacker tube, nor of a shorter size,
> Smokes Cambro-Briton.

The humour of the idea is admirably sustained, with as much invention as Butler, and as much vivacity as Swift, and with far more refinement than either. Philips's memory was excellent; he had the whole of Virgil by heart, and so perfect a knowledge of both Greek and Latin poets, that when perusing the works of Milton, it has been asserted that he could at once quote a parallel passage from the classic authors. He wrote an epic entitled "Cyder," in honour of his native county, and "the theme being yet unsung." It is in blank verse, fashioned upon the Georgics:—

> On the barren heath
> The shepherd tends his flock, that daily crop
> Their verdant dinner from the mossy turf
> Sufficient. After them the cackling goose,
> Close grazer, finds wherewith to ease her wants.
> What should I more? E'en on the cliffy height
> Of Penmenmaur, and that cloud-piercing hill,
> Plynlimmon, from afar the traveller kens,
> Astonished how the goats their shrubby browse
> Gnaw pendent; nor untrembling can'st thou see
> How from a craggy rock, whose prominence
> Half overshades the ocean, hardy men,
> Fearless of rending winds and dashing waves,
> Cut samphire, to excite the squeamish guest
> Of pampered luxury.*

The last description found its source nearer home than Rome or Greece; in truth, the work does not

* "Cyder," a Poem.

at all suggest a classical inspiration. It is a faithful description of rural life, though laboured.

In his poem "Cyder," he takes occasion to praise an indulgence often had recourse to in conjunction with the favourite beverage—the more particularly by the studious and the imaginative. Its value as an aid to conviviality at the wine parties of the Oxford undergraduates, was as fully recognized as at present:—

> Friend to the spirits, which, with vapours bland,
> It gently mitigates. Companion fit
> Of pleasantry and wine—nor to the bards
> Unfriendly, when they to the vocal shell
> Warble melodious their well-laboured songs.

Again, in "The Splendid Shilling," Philips refers to the enjoyment:—

> Meanwhile he smokes and laughs at merry tale,
> Or fun ambiguous, or conundrum quaint.

Among Atterbury's fellow students was William Lowth, subsequently eminent as a controversialist with the Dissenters and Catholics, as well as for writing several excellent expositions of theology. He became a prebend of Winchester, and chaplain to the Bishop (Dr. Mew); and his comprehensive learning was of special assistance to other laborious scholars engaged in similar undertakings.

Another distinguished contemporary was Joseph Addison, whose father, the Dean, was also educated at Oxford. Both studied at Queen's College, and both were celebrated for their Latin verses, as well as for their admiration of Dryden. Addison cultivated a warm friendship for a fellow student, with whom Atterbury was to be very closely connected; and to

H. S. [Henry Sacheverell], in 1695, he addressed his verses on the English poets. The poem indicates the manner in which the writer was desirous of recommending himself—an art practised by him with as much industry as success. He wrote:—

> I'm tired of rhyming, and would fain give o'er,
> But justice still demands one labour more;
> The noble Montagu remains unnamed,
> For wit, for humour, and for judgment famed.
> To Dorset he directs his artful muse,
> In numbers such as Dorset's self might use.
> How negligently graceful he unreins
> His verse, and writes in loose familiar strains!
> How Nassau's god-like acts adorn his lines,
> And all the hero in full glory shines!
> We see his army set in just array,
> And Boyne's dyed waves run purple to the sea.
> Nor Simois, choaked with men, and arms, and blood,
> Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
> Shall longer be the poet's highest themes,
> Though gods and heroes fought promiscuous in their streams.

This strong appeal for Court favour concludes with a somewhat tame reference to the popular minister:—

> But now to Nassau's secret councils raised,
> He aids the hero whom before he praised.

Addison followed this up with laudatory poems to King William and to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Somers). He dedicated his Latin poems to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom he subsequently wrote an epistle in verse.

Richard Steele was pursuing his studies at Oxford when Atterbury was there gaining eminence as a tutor. He was at Merton College in 1692, where he made his first essays in authorship, apparently with but little promise of success, an attempt at comedy having been condemned by a judicious friend. Three years later he appeared in print, in the shape of a poem

called "The Procession," intended to describe the popular feelings on the death of Queen Mary. It is purely artificial in style, and so laboured that it ought to have gone the way of the abortive comedy. The social qualities of Steele rendered him accessible to many of his fellow students, but he did not distinguish himself in the eyes of the professors, and left the university without taking a degree. The fact is, his predilections were for a military career, and to gratify them he presently entered the Horse Guards as a private.

It has been averred that Locke forfeited his studentship by quitting the university without leave, in consequence of which, when he returned from Holland, in February, 1689, the authorities declined to restore him to his privileges, though they offered to admit him as a supernumerary student, which he declined. His services to the cause of the revolution could not, however, be overlooked, and as he had already shown a talent for public business, he was offered an official post. He accepted the Commissionership of Appeal, devoting himself, however, almost entirely to literary pursuits.

His "Letter upon Education," another on the value of money, and two treatises on civil government, increased the admiration excited in the mind of Atterbury by his "Essay on the Human Understanding;" but the philosopher's important work, "On the Reasonableness of Christianity," more directly appealed to him. Many clergymen attacked it publicly. Dr. Stillingfleet and the author carried on a controversy respecting some of its opinions, and charges were brought against him of

Socinianism, which he repelled in two separate Vindications. Locke had apparently written to favour King William's scheme of "Comprehension" quite as much as to reconcile Deists to Christianity; and his moderation was not cordially appreciated either by sectarians or Churchmen.*

Towards the close of the century, Atterbury had among his clerical and poetic contemporaries in the university Thomas Creech, who produced several translations from both Greek and Latin poets. His "Lucretius" was printed at Oxford in the year 1682, and Thomas Brown, a student of Christ Church, Dryden, Waller, and other distinguished authors, added complimentary verses. The work was subsequently severely attacked for its irreligious tendency, though it had been partly translated by John Evelyn. Nevertheless, this translation was much admired. The author entered into holy orders in 1701, and his first preferment was Welwyn, Hertfordshire; but in the following year he died by his own hand, while at Oxford, owing, it has been reported, to his having been jilted by a girl to whom he was attached; but, as he was a little over forty at this time, a disappointment of such a nature was not likely to affect him so severely.

Surrounded by such associates, and engaged in such pursuits, the tutor continued his vocation with not less honour than success. He had filled several offices, such

* This opposition, together with the intemperance of the dominant party in politics, made him sigh for repose. He therefore gave up his public employment, and lived in undisturbed retirement at the house of his affectionate friend, Lady Masham, where he died the 28th day of October, 1704.

as Moderator, Censor, &c., had taken his M.A. degree (April 20, 1687), and had, moreover, taken a wife—a young lady of considerable personal attractions, and a fortune of £7,000. Miss Katherine Osborn was believed to be a natural daughter of Sir Thomas Osborn, and had resided in the neighbourhood of the university. Though this was not very closely following the advice of his shrewd parent, the step was looked upon as promising equal advantages. The Benedict at once obtained holy orders, abandoned the irksome duties of a tutor, and with his bride started for London, in search of clerical distinction.

CHAPTER III.

THE COURT CHAPLAIN.

Lectureship of St. Bride's—Bishop of London nominates Atterbury—Is appointed Chaplain to the King and Queen—His Sermon on Charity attacked by Dr. Hoadly—Prior's Poem on the same Subject—Indifference of William III. to the Anglican Church—Atterbury's Sermon preached before Queen Mary—Steele's Description of Atterbury as a Preacher—Dr. Burgess, the popular Dissenter—Dr. Atterbury at the Chapel Royal—In Convocation before the House of Commons—Appointed to the Rolls Chapel—Dr. Hoadly again rushes into Controversy—Atterbury becomes Archdeacon — Thomas Yalden — The Royal Chaplains — Dr. Smalridge Almoner to the Queen—Steele's Description of Him—Archdeacon Atterbury's High Church and High State Principles—Court Physicians—Radcliffe—Mead—Garth.

THE Lectureship of St. Bride's was an object of clerical ambition at this time. In the summer of 1691, on a vacancy occurring, fourteen clergymen presented themselves as candidates. Of these, two were ordered to preach every Sunday, and when all should have manifested their capabilities, the fourteen were to be reduced to eight, another selection was to cut down the candidates to four, and a third to two. But, "to preserve the peace and unity of the parish," it was resolved in the vestry, on the 15th of September, that the Bishop of London should be requested to recommend a gentleman, not one of the compe-

titors; and he named the Rev. Francis Atterbury. This nomination so pleased the authorities, as soon as they could become acquainted with the merit of their lecturer, that on the 22nd of October they voted that thanks should be given to the Bishop for recommending and licensing him.

Atterbury had begun his career as a London preacher under the happiest auspices. He was presently appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, and about the same time was elected preacher at Bridewell Hospital. They were opportunities for making his talent known which he was not likely to neglect. The first sermon that attracted attention towards him he preached before the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals, in the year 1694. It was "On the Power of Charity to Cover Sin," and excited much animadversion from Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, which he published as "Exceptions." The text was taken from St. Peter's well known assertion, and was thus explained :—

> The virtue of charity is of so great price in the sight of God, that those persons who possess and exercise it in any eminent manner are peculiarly entitled to the Divine favour and pardon with regard to numberless slips and failings in their duty, which they may be otherwise guilty of. This great Christian perfection of which they are masters, shall make many little imperfections to be overlooked and unobserved; it shall cover the multitude of sins.

The doctrine is as old as Christianity, but the preacher, notwithstanding he had to shape his discourse for the advantage of the institution to which he had been attached, carefully avoids the sense the

Roman Church has given to charity, by circumscribing its virtue on the sinner. The sins it covers, he averred, are small sins only. He gives no encouragement to the thoroughly wicked, to their hope of escaping punishment by a surrender of their riches, when these have ceased to procure them any enjoyment.

Hoadly was eager for controversy, and having attacked the first edition of this sermon, in 1708, followed the "Exceptions" with additional comments, in which he remarks: "If God will accept one duty in lieu of many others, and if our performance of that shall be our justification, notwithstanding our omission of many others, this is a sort of salvation, in my judgment, unworthy of the nature of man to receive, and unworthy of the nature of God to offer."

The preacher had said nothing about justification or salvation by means of charity; indeed, he is particularly guarded in his estimate of its efficacy, scarcely coming up to that of the Apostle, when referring to the triad of Christian attributes—"but the greatest of these is Charity." There was, however, not only an opening for controversy, but for reproof, as seen in Dr. Hoadly's concluding sentence.

Let me therefore intreat you to review *the groundless and pernicious doctrine* you have unwarily taught on this subject: consider if charity ought to be represented as founded upon a temper inconsistent with innocence and an *unspotted* conscience [the preacher had said nothing of the kind] *as productive of vice and folly and madness!*—as leading to the neglect of the principal branches of itself, and the like—*and whether it becomes a Christian Divine to set the several parts of God's law at variance!*—and to make the performance of one of them an atonement for the neglect of others, as indispensably required.*

* "Hoadly's Tracts," 224. 1715.

. The controversialist, in his eagerness to find fault, does not seem to be aware that he is quarrelling with the Apostle, whose assertion that "Charity covereth a multitude of sins," must mean either that its practice is an atonement for neglect of duty, or it means nothing. His object was so transparent, that Atterbury would not condescend to reply; and this apparent contempt he never forgave.

It was probably a perusal of his schoolfellow's celebrated sermon, that inspired Prior with his fine poem on the same subject:—

> *Charity*—decent, modest, easy, kind,
> Softens the high and veils the abject mind;
> Knows with just reins and gentle hand to guide
> Betwixt vile shame and arbitrary pride.
> Not soon provoked, she easily forgives,
> And much she suffers as she much believes.
> Soft peace she brings wherever she arrives,
> She builds our quiet as she forms our lives;
> Lays the rough paths of peevish Nature even,
> And opens in each heart a little Heaven.

And in the same strain he concludes:—

> Thou, constant *Faith*, and holy *Hope*, shall die,
> One lost in certainty, and one in joy;
> Whilst thou, more happy power, fair *Charity*,
> Triumphant sister, *greatest of the Three*,
> Thy office and thy nature still the same—
> Lasting thy lamp, and unconsumed thy flame—
> Shalt still survive;
> Shalt stand before the Host of Heaven confessed,
> For ever blessing, and for ever blessed!

The chaplain proceeded on his independent career, earnest in loyalty to his royal patrons and patronesses, but still more earnest in loyalty to his sacred profession. His honesty, as well as his courage, were fully appreciated by William III., who, however, cannot be said to have shown any very sincere regard for the

Anglican Church. Probably seeing the rock on which the royalty of his father-in-law had been wrecked, he chose to keep as much from it as possible, leaving the critical navigation to his ministers and the prelates. This want of zeal in the acknowledged head of the Anglican Church, encouraged not only indifference, but irreligion, and nominal members of the establishment began to publish works apparently intended to startle the religious public by the heterodoxy of their opinions.

In the year 1694, Atterbury preached a sermon before Queen Mary, at Whitehall, "The Scorner incapable of True Wisdom." This was also attacked, and with increased bitterness, in consequence of its containing something like a charge of Socinianism against the late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tillotson), as well as some reflections on Sir Robert Howard, who, among other literary efforts, had ventured upon a "History of Religion." But the "two letters to Sir R. H.," in which the preacher was assailed, did not disturb his equanimity, and he continued to deliver sermons to crowded congregations with increasing popularity, both in the Court and in the city. He preached before the Lord Mayor each year, dedicating his sermons to the Right Honorable gentleman who filled the civic chair.

In a few years he became so attractive a preacher that he was obliged to absent himself from Bridewell, and there appeared to be a falling off in the receipts of the chapel. Thereupon there was a meeting held at the Court-house, on Thursday, the 8th of August, 1695, when the following resolution was passed :—

The Right Worshipful the President of these hospitals informing this Court that the duty of the minister of Bridewell Hospital had not been of late performed according to the orders of the same hospital, and that by reason thereof there was a great decrease in the congregation of the chapel, this Court doth refer it to the President, Treasurer, and Committee of Bridewell Hospital to admonish the minister thereof.

There was another meeting in the Court-house on the 15th of the following month, when this minute was ordered to be expunged from the vestry book, and lines were drawn across it.

In the farewell sermon Dr. Atterbury preached, December 11, 1698, at St. Bride's, there occurs the following striking declaration :—

Seven years I have from this place admonished, exhorted, besought you: what success these labours of mine have had, He knows best for whose glory they were designed. The infidelity of the age has forced me to dwell often on the great articles and mysteries of our Faith, and to explain them largely; but I call God to witness that I never proposed any explication of these points, never recommended anything of this kind to your belief, but what I firmly and from the bottom of my heart believed myself. The Faith I have delivered to you, the Faith of the Church of England, into which we are all baptised, is, I am entirely satisfied, the same that was once delivered to the Saints; I hope none of you will be ever invited by the specious arts and insinuations of Heresy to depart from it. I am sure the professions of it, in all its branches and members, is what, by the Grace of God, *I intend to live and die in.* The Church you are of, is without doubt the purest and soundest, the most reasonable and moderate Church upon earth.

Such was the character Francis Atterbury gave of Church of England doctrine, in an early part of his career as a Churchman, and such the resolution he then formed to abide by it as long as he had life. It will be seen in the course of this narrative that

his enemies more than once accused him of having apostatized; but nothing will be easier than to prove the falsehood of the charge. His affection for the faith in which he had been educated never abated.

In 1700 he put forth "The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation Stated and Vindicated," of which a second edition, much enlarged, appeared in the following year. This work excited extreme interest, and brought out many assailants, among whom stood foremost Wake and Kennett; but, in the deliberate and dispassionate judgment of Warburton and Hurd,* Atterbury was left complete master of the field.

In January, 1701 (N.S.), Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then Bishop of Exeter, collated Mr. Atterbury to the archdeaconry of Totness, and subsequently to a prebend in the cathedral.†

In April, 1701, the Court chaplain received the high

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* Hurd, in a letter to Warburton, writes: "The main question Atterbury discusses, 'Whether the convocation or their legal meeting have a right to debate and consult together on matters within their sphere, without a *previous* licence from the Crown?' seems unanswerably cleared, and his determination very justly made in their favour." Warburton replies: "Atterbury goes upon *principles*, and all that Wake and Kennett could possibly oppose are *precedents*;" and these are nothing when they oppose the genius of a constitution. And I lay it down for a rule, that in a dispute concerning a public right, whether civil or ecclesiastic, where precedents may (as they always may) be pleaded for both sides the question, there nothing but the nature of the constitution can discriminate the legitimate from the illegitimate."—*See* Letters from a late Eminent Prelate to one of his Friends.

† These favours are thus acknowledged in his dedication of a volume of sermons to that accomplished prelate:—"They were not the effects of importunity, or the just rewards of domestic service; they sprang not from dependence or acquaintance, being bestowed upon one who was (at the first) little known to your lordship, otherwise than by his honest endeavours to retrieve those synodical Rights of the Clergy, whereof you, my lord, have been all along, to your great honour, the avowed Patron and Defender."

gratification of a vote of thanks from the Lower House of Convocation, "for his learned pains in asserting and vindicating their rights;" and, at the special request of that body, the university of Oxford was pleased to confer upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, in the following month.

It was while Atterbury was preacher at Bridewell Hospital that Steele published his remarkable estimate of his ability as a preacher, singling him out as a rare example of clerical eloquence and propriety in the pulpit. He had then, however, received higher preferment.

But of all the people on the earth, there are none who puzzle me so much as the clergy of England, who are, I believe, the most learned body of men now in the world; and yet this act of speaking, with the proper ornaments of voice and gesture, is wholly neglected among them; and I will engage, were a deaf man to behold the greater part of them preach, he would rather think they were reading the contents only of some discourse they intended to make, than actually in the body of an oration, even when they are upon matters of such a nature as one would believe it were impossible to think of without emotion.

I own there are exceptions to this general observation, and that *the Dean* we heard the other day is *an orator*. He has so much regard for his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he has to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience who could be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill: he never attempts your passions until he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form are laid

open and dispersed before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart, and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it.

Having dwelt sufficiently on the merits of the preacher, he observes:—

Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and show so much concern for them as to give them all the additional force they were able, it is not possible that nonsense should have so many hearers as you find it has in Dissenting congregations—for no reason in the world but because it is spoken extempore: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears, and there is no way to come at their hearts but by power over their imaginations.

The essayist then notices the arts employed in certain conventicles, referring in the first place to a popular Independent minister, Dr. Burgess, who preached in a court near Lincoln's Inn.

After this general condemnation, he adds:—

There is my friend and merry companion, Daniel. He knows a great deal better than he speaks, and can form a proper discourse as well as any orthodox neighbour. But he knows very well how to bawl out "my beloved!" and the words "grace, regeneration, sanctification, a new light, the day, the day—ay, my beloved, the day!" or rather "the night, the night, is coming!" and "judgment will come when we least think of it," and so forth.*

* There is a curious reference to the popular Dissenter who, by the way, was an old Westminster, in another *Tatler* (No. 228), which will remind the reader of a familiar passage in "The Hypocrite:"—"It would be like Dr. Burgess dropping his cloak, with the whole congregation *hanging upon the skirt of it.*" In one of his sermons he said to his congregation: "If any of you would have a good and cheap suit, you will go to Monmouth Street; if you want a *suit* for life, you will go to the Court of Chancery; but if you wish for a suit that would last to eternity, you must go to the Lord Jesus Christ, and put on His Robe of Righteousness." This facetious vein has been cultivated with equal effect in the Tabernacle in the present time.

He knows to be vehement is the only way to come at his audience. Daniel, when he sees my friend Greenbat come in, can give a good hint, and cry out, "This is only for the saints—the regenerated." By this force of action, though mixed with all the incoherence and ribaldry imaginable, Daniel can laugh at his diocesan, and grow fat by voluntary subscription, while the parson of the parish goes to law for half his dues. Daniel will tell you it is not the shepherd but the sheep with the bell which the flock follows.

More than a century and a half have passed since this picture was drawn, and it is yet faithful in every detail. Steele then calls attention to another deficiency in officiating clergymen in his day, which may still be noticed much too frequently.

Another thing, very wonderful this learned body should omit, is learning to read, which is a most necessary part of eloquence in one who is to serve at the altar; for there is no man but must be sensible that the lazy tone and inarticulate sound of our common readers depreciates the most proper forms of words that were ever extant in any nation or language to speak our wants, or His power from whom we ask relief.

The essayist then gives an instance of the advantage of action in recommending a discourse—no doubt also a portrait from life.

There cannot be a greater instance of the power of action than in little Parson Dapper, who is the common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. This smart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean handkerchief. Thus equipped, he opens his text, shuts his book fairly, shows that he has no notes in his bible; opens both palms, and shows all is fair there too. Thus, with a decisive air, my young man goes on without hesitation; and though from the beginning to the end of his pretty discourse he has not used one proper gesture, yet at the conclusion the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands—"Pray who is this extraordinary young man?"*

* The *Tatler*, Saturday, September 10th. 1709, No. 66.

The distinctions that show the growing popularity of Atterbury were supplemented by the following announcement:—"The Rev. Dr. Atterbury * is appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cathedral this day, it being the anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles II. and the Royal Family, where the Right Honble. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs will be present." †

Whenever Dr. Atterbury preached at the Chapel Royal, it was thronged by all who could obtain admission. The most influential men of both parties pressed in among the courtiers, whose valuable privilege it was to hear his discourses. The royal sisters were specially charmed with him; and after he had preached before the House of Commons in 1701—when he included in his masterly review of our Constitution in Church and State, his well merited eulogium on the Prince to whom the nation was indebted for its preservation—though others were removed from the post of chaplain after Queen Mary's death, he was retained. King William does not appear to have taken an unfavourable view of his recent pamphlet on Convocation; probably too much occupied by the trouble the lay parliament gave him to heed the less important proceedings of the clerical one. ‡

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* He obtained his Doctor of Divinity degree this year.

† *Protestant Mercury*, May 29th, 1700.

‡ Dr. Atterbury had taken very high ground soon after he became a member of the ecclesiastical legislature. He was regarded as the champion as well as the oracle of the clerical party subsequently known as "High Church." In his correspondence with Bishop Trelawney, who supported him warmly, he describes the active part he took in Convocation. He not only opposed the Primate and

No man had more capacity for judging the merits of a contemporary divine, or more frequent opportunities of arriving at a correct judgment in this instance, than Dr. Smalridge. His admiration of his friend was as intense as his praise was cordial. He wrote:—

> With what applause has he often preached before the people, the magistrates, the clergy, the senate, and the Court! How often has the late Queen Mary (now gathered to the saints above) been charmed with his eloquence, and what address did he use in tempering the soul of her sister when she was almost oppressed and overcome by her late affliction.

He wrote, in 1708, "Reflections on a late Scandalous Report about the Repeal of the Test Act."*

In November, 1710, Atterbury, then Dean, was elected by a great majority Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. At the same time his early and esteemed friend William Bromley, Esq., educated with him in the same principles, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons; a circumstance from which Dr. Smalridge, who presented the new Prolocutor to the Upper House of Convocation, confidently augured the best results.

When King William died his prospects became brightened by the favour of Queen Anne, by whom, as well as by Prince George of Denmark, he was greatly esteemed.

It will be seen that the spirit of strife between

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his Low Church supporters by eloquent speeches in the Lower House, but attacked them by equally eloquent pamphlets out of the House, carrying on the controversy with pen and tongue, with equal vigour, against Wake, Burnet, Hoadly, and other equally able assailants.

* Preached in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, October 31, 1708.

the two Houses of Convocation was not allowed to evaporate. Another subject of controversy was started in 1712, of which there is more than one reference in the Prolocutor's reports to the Bishop of Winchester, who seemed never to tire of doing good offices to his friend, nor did his friend tire of acknowledging them. Both were of one mind in all ecclesiastical matters, particularly in their censure of the opinions allowed to be published by Anglican churchmen, such as Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke. Dr. Atterbury was too sincere a Christian to sanction the free and easy sentiments that were constantly introduced into works written by clergymen of the Church of England, and in one instance at least he promptly interposed to check such a scandal.

During a sermon he preached before the House of Commons on the 8th of March, 1703–4, Dr. Atterbury dwelt with impressive fervour on the amiable characteristics of their royal mistress. The members were not more pleased than the Queen; and as the imperious favourite, the Duchess of Marlborough, professed to be equally gratified, the Court chaplain's rise might safely have been predicted. His progress in favour was much advanced by his arduous endeavours to afford pious consolation on the death of her husband, in honour of whom he preached a sermon that affected the entire Court. Prince George of Denmark had hitherto been held in little account; neither the ministers nor the courtiers had shown him much attention; but the Court chaplain brought out his unassuming virtues in such high relief, that his widow could not but help feeling her irreparable

loss; she equally felt the consolation of the preacher's Christian arguments.

On the back of a letter from Dr. Smalridge to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, the latter wrote "About Dr. Atterbury being worthy of the chair, and the character given of him." The letter, dated July 3, 1708, contains the following passage:—

I guess at the person whom the dean and president have in their thoughts; but if I know that person as well as they do, and I should know him a little better, he will thank his friends for the honour they intend him, but will never accept of it. He has an hundred unanswerable objections against it; but there is one worth an hundred which you yourself suggest, that such a compliment cannot be paid him without an affront to another person whom he loves and honours, and who is the last man in the world whom he would disoblige. That other person has such an indisputable title to the post, and is in all regards so well qualified for it, that I am not a little surprised or a little concerned to find any other person thought of. I do not know whether it will be in the power of our friends to fill that post with one of their own side or not; but if it should, let them secure one who has served them so faithfully, and has suffered so much in their service, to whom they owe all the powers they have, and who has so heartily struggled for their having more influence and interest than they yet have.*

The position Dr. Atterbury assumed in Convocation was highly offensive to all ecclesiastical time-servers, some of whom were mean enough to spread a report that he had offered to join the party of the Whig primate, but had been rejected; they tried to father this derogatory report on his friend Smalridge,

* Ballard's Letters. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vol. VII., Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, V., 272.

who, however, thus disposes of it under his own hand:—

Chichester, August 21, 1708.

I received the favour of yours by the last post, wherein you desire to know, whether I ever said by Mr. Gibson "that Dr. Atterbury came to Lambeth and offered himself to come into our measures, but was rejected;" to which I take the first opportunity to return this plain answer, *that I never did say so, either to Mr. Gibson or to any man living.* I might say that some years since there was a private proposal from a person of note, to make matters more easy and quiet in Convocation, and that mention was made of Dr. Atterbury as a person that might be very instrumental in it, and of his coming to Lambeth as the first step towards it. All this to my knowledge is true—that is, that such a proposal was then made; but that it was made by Dr. Atterbury, much less that he came to Lambeth as the first step towards it, or that he was at all privy to it, I never did say. By this post I write to Mr. Gibson, to let him know that this is what I said to him; and that if he mistook and hath reported it otherwise, it is an injury both to Dr. Atterbury and me, and he ought, in justice to both, to undeceive as many as he has misled.*

Sir John Trevor, almost as intelligent a Master of the Rolls as Sir John Romilly, was one of the distinguished statesmen who frequently joined the congregation of Dr. Atterbury. The Court chaplain had the command of the best pulpits for influencing society beneficially; that he employed them to great effect, the most convincing proofs may be found in the opinions of the best judges of such merit, not exclusively among the members of his own church, but among sectarian divines, whose judgment could not be influenced by partiality.†

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* Ballard's Letters. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vol. VII., Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, V., 273.

† "The glory of English orators! His language in its strictest purity and beauty;

Hoadly, eager to gain publicity at the expense of a brother clergyman rising into notice, in 1706, attacked another sermon of Dr. Atterbury's, founded on a text from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, xv., 19:—"If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." The preacher said:—

If all the benefits we expect from the Christian institution were confined within the bounds of this present life, and we had no hopes of a better state after this, of a great and lasting reward in a life to come, we Christians should be the most abandoned and wretched of creatures. All other sorts and sects of men would evidently have the advantage of us, and a much surer title to happiness than we.

This is not felicitously expressed; but the Doctor's meaning is that if members of the Church of England were to content themselves with a Christianity that reached no farther than the grave, every other community of Christians who entertained hopes of eternal felicity must be considered in a far better position. In respect of a future life, he argues that men without the prospect of immortality would be as the beasts that perish; the best men being often the most miserable. "I mean," he adds, "as far as happiness or misery are to be measured from pleasing or painful sensations; and supposing the present to be the only life we are to lead, I see not that this might be esteemed the true measure of them."

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nothing dark, nothing redundant, nothing defective, nothing misplaced. Trivial thoughts avoided, uncommon ones introduced, set in a clear and strong light in a few words; a few admirable similes, graceful allusions to Scripture, beyond any other writer. On the whole he is a model for courtly preachers."—Dr. Doddridge. This should be compared with Dr. Warton's gratuitous falsehoods.

This was an unguarded expression of which Hoadly took an unfair advantage, by representing the preacher as having mistaken the Apostle's meaning, and thus dogmatically pretends to set him right:—

The apostle speaks of Christians professing faith in Christ, Dr. Atterbury of persons practising the moral precepts of religion; the apostle speaks of the condition of such Christians in a state of the most bitter persecution, Dr. Atterbury of the condition of virtuous persons in the ordinary course of God's providence. The apostle designs nothing by his assertion and supposition but to shame those ignorant unwary professors of Christianity out of the denial of a general resurrection; Dr. Atterbury, on the contrary, draws from them an absolute argument for the certainty of a future state.

He concludes with the following confident summing up: "So that upon the review it seems evident that Dr. Atterbury has mistaken the assertion itself, the persons concerning whom the Apostle intends it, the times to which he manifestly limits it, and the conclusion which he designed should be drawn from it."*

Dr. Atterbury thought proper to answer this when preparing a volume of his sermons for the press. In some prefatory remarks to one of them, he replied to his opponent with such force, strengthening his arguments with so many quotations from our best divines, that the pertinacious controversialist was provoked to publish a second letter on the same subject; but it elicited no rejoinder. Hoadly waited impatiently for another opportunity, and found it in a Latin sermon, preached by the Doctor in the Rolls Chapel in 1709, soon after his appointment

* Hoadly's Tracts, 1715.

to that pulpit by the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Trevor.

A little before this Dr. Atterbury, in one of his Convocation pamphlets, had mentioned his opponent as the modest and moderate Mr. Hoadly, and accused him of "treating the body of the Established Church with language more disdainful and reviling than it would have become him to have used towards his Presbyterian antagonist upon any provocation, charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilst he himself was preaching it up in the State."*

Hoadly, stung by the reproof, issued another vehement pamphlet, misrepresenting his opponent's motives in carrying on the controversy.† It did no harm to Dr. Atterbury, but proved an excellent advertisement for himself. The Queen continued to show unmistakable marks of her approval of her chaplain, and her ministers now began to indicate that they were not insensible to his increasing influence. The Lower House of Convocation were conscious not only of his ascendancy, but of his devotion to the true interests of the Anglican Church —in short, he was generally regarded as one of the most able men in his profession. Queen Anne accepted his advice on Church affairs, and at once there was a marked change in the policy of the Government, as acknowledged by Dr. Burnet.

All this was directed by Dr. Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief minister; and because the other bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former ministry, it was thought fit to put the mark of the Queen's distrust upon them,

* "Some Proceedings in Convocation, A.D. 1705, faithfully represented."

† "A large Answer to Dr. Atterbury's Charge of Rebellion," &c., 1710.

that it might appear with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged.

Hoadly had the mortification of seeing the royal chaplain constantly rising in estimation, not only in the Court but in the Church. In short, the advocate of the Church, who had stood alone, found himself at the head of a powerful party. He became the director of the Lower House of Convocation, who gave (11th May, 1711) another proof of their confidence by appointing him one of the committee selected to compare the doctrines of Whiston with those sanctioned by the Anglican Church.

Bishop Burnet, one of his opponents in the old controversy, never misses an opportunity of betraying his hostility to the champion of High Church principles, and asserts in his "History"* that a representation of the present state of religion having been deemed by Convocation necessary to report to the Queen, Dr. Atterbury contrived to get himself appointed to draw it up, and that the result was a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administrations from the time of the Revolution.

This "representation" was not presented to the Queen, but it was published, and its disclosures terribly annoyed the other party in the Church, who were considered responsible for the lamentable state of things it portrayed; their writers were kept constantly employed in Atterbury's vilification.

Dr. William King returned from Ireland, where he had filled the important posts of Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Commissioner of Prizes, Keeper of Records, and Vicar-General of the Primate—with

* "History of his Own Time," II., 569.

more honour to his red cow than to himself. He preferred a residence in London, with leisure to write squibs on whatever in his eyes deserved ridicule. Such were "Useful Transactions in Philosophy and other sorts of Learning," "A Voyage to the Island of Cajamai, in America," and "The Art of Cookery." He resumed his intimacy with Dr. Atterbury, and it presently grew into a close political alliance. He had been Secretary to the Princess Anne in the late King's reign, and became a strong partisan with his fellow student against the Whig Government. He also took a prominent part in favour of another fellow student, whom the Cabinet unwisely sought to crush by a prosecution.

Thomas Yalder was a Demy of Magdalen College in 1690, and attracted favourable attention by his poetical compositions. In 1693 his "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" was set to music by Purcell, and two years later appeared a Pindaric ode, addressed to King William, "On the Conquest of Namur." In May, 1694, he had taken his M.A. degree, and went to town with the object of getting clerical employment. Dr. Atterbury was acquainted with his merit, and forwarded his interests with such effect, that in 1698 he succeeded to the pulpit the Doctor had been obliged to resign at Bridewell. The obligation he never forgot, attaching himself warmly to his friend, and promoting his views whenever it lay in his power. He joined the High Church party, and wrote a poem to popularize their principles.

Of the six chaplains appointed to preach at Whitehall, Dr. Atterbury is placed first. His salary was

£80 a year.* The Lord Almoner, Dr. Wake, and the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of London, had £200 a year; the sub-Almoner and the sub-Dean, Dr. Cannon and Mr. John Dolben, received £97 11*s.* 3*d.* and £91 5*s.*, the first as wages and board-wages, the other board-wages only. There were forty-eight chaplains, four for each month throughout the year, without salary. From the same authority we learn that the income from the bishopric of Rochester was only £358 4*s.* 9*d.* Gloucester, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor were valued respectively at £315 7*s.* 1*d.*, £154 14*s.* 2*d.*, £187 12*s.* 8*d.*, and £131 16*s.* 3*d.* Winchester was then richer than either of the archbishoprics, its revenue being estimated at £3,193 4*s.* 7¼*d.*

That Dr. Atterbury's orthodoxy was not unpopular is proved by his having been selected to preach before the House of Commons, and by the favour with which his sermons, preached to the Court of Queen Anne, were received. With his old friend Dr. Smalridge he was in frequent communication. They had been closely associated in classical study, and were now coadjutors in theological as well as in literary pursuits. Smalridge obtained the appointment of Almoner to Queen Anne, which brought him frequently into the society of her chaplain. They were always found in the same company, where the conversational powers and extreme good humour of Dr. Smalridge made him a favourite, particularly with Steele and Addison, who have left evidences of their partiality for this accomplished and amiable divine.

* Chamberlayne. "Magnæ Britanniæ Notitiæ," 1716, 553.

Steele, in one of his inimitable essays, after a letter, supposed to come from a member of the Society of Friends, describing the apathetic manner of a fashionable preacher, refers to his clerical friend under the *nom de plume* "Favonius":—

"In the midst of a thousand impertinent assailants of the divine truths," he remarks, "he is an undisturbed defender of them. He protects all under his care by the clearness of his understanding and the example of his life; he visits dying men with the air of a man who hopes for his own dissolution, and enforces in others a contempt of this life by his own expectation of the next. His voice and behaviour are the lively images of a composed and well-governed zeal. None can leave him for the frivolous jargon uttered by the ordinary teachers among Dissenters, but such as cannot distinguish vociferation from eloquence, and argument from railing. He is so great a judge of mankind, and touches our passions with so superior a command, that he who deserts his congregation must be a stranger to the dictates of nature as well as to those of grace."*

To Addison, in conjunction with Steele, has been attributed another portrait of this estimable man. The Editor of the *Tatler* describes a visit paid by him to the dying wife of a friend, who resided at a house in Westminster:—

At the door of it I met Favonius—not without a secret satisfaction to find he had been there. I had formerly conversed with him at this house; and as he abounds with that sort of virtue and knowledge which makes religion beautiful, and never leads the conversation into the violence and rage of party disputes, I listened to him with great pleasure. Our discourse chanced to be on the subject of Death, which he treated with such a strength of reason and greatness of soul, that instead of being terrible, it appeared to a mind rightly cultivated altogether not to be contemned, or rather to be desired.

As I met him at the door I saw in his face a certain glowing

* *Tatler*, No. 72. September 24th, 1709.

of grief and humanity, heightened with an air of fortitude and resolution, which, as I afterwards found, had such an irresistible force as to suspend the pains of the dying and the lamentation of the nearest friends who attended her.*

A few years later, when Dr. Smalridge had been raised to the episcopal bench as Bishop of Bristol, Addison, in a letter to Swift, October 1, 1718, mentions him thus cordially:—"The greatest pleasure I have met with for some months is the conversation of my old friend Dr. Smalridge, who, since the death of the excellent man you mention, is to me the most candid and agreeable of all bishops."

Archdeacon Atterbury was not content with being a fashionable preacher. His High Church predilections had filled him with high State notions. Though he could not be what the more distinguished ornaments of the Gallican, the Spanish, and the Italian Church had been, and though the road to the dignity of a Wolsey was as completely closed against him as that to the honours of a Richelieu or a Ximenes, the Church of England had in his own era produced statesmen, who were its primates, whose position in the government of the country seemed scarcely less worthy of his ambition. Atterbury, therefore, began to give more attention to politics. His High Church principles led inevitably to his adoption of the doctrine of legitimate succession, and made him sensible of the existence of a Prince who had been excluded from the country, though, as the son of James the Second, he possessed apparently an indisputable right to the British throne.

* *Tatler*, No. 114. December 31, 1709.

Such were the ideas he might hear constantly expressed by partisans, called either Jacobites, from their known devotion to the exiled family, or Tories, the political party opposed to the Whigs. And they might be entertained with perfect loyalty to his royal mistress, for the few persons who enjoyed Her Majesty's confidence were aware that she felt a deep sympathy for her brother, and quite as strong an aversion to the Electress of Hanover. The Tories were the supporters of High Church principles, and as the avowed champion of these principles in Convocation, Archdeacon Atterbury must take his place with that party. At present he cared only to show himself a partisan in literature, as well as in theology, and seemed satisfied with the additional arena afforded in the columns of certain periodical publications.

Some of the physicians moved as prominently in society as the chaplains. After the revolution had been accomplished, Dr. Radcliffe's decided Protestantism gained him as much influence at Court as his recognized talent in his profession. He became the principal physician to their Majesties, with a handsome salary. Besides enjoying a large practice amongst his own countrymen, he acquired the favour of the King's Dutch favourites, Bentinck, Earl of Portland, and Zulestein, Earl of Rochford. Moreover, his social and intellectual talents made him regarded as an acquisition to the best society of the metropolis. The Bull's Head Tavern, in Clare Market, was one of the favourite resorts of the gay spirits of this convivial generation, and here he was in the

habit of circulating the sparkling wine, as well as the no less sparkling jest, with some of his most distinguished contemporaries.

Dr. Atterbury could not have failed in being included in the increasing circle of the fashionable Doctor's friends, for his devotion to the Church of England continued to be a prominent characteristic. With much eccentricity of character the Doctor was of a singularly benevolent disposition, and performed many noble acts of charity. The poor clergy, non-jurors and others, were often indebted to his liberality —Dr. William Lloyd to the amount of £500; and as his wealth increased so did his benefactions. He was a governor of Bridewell when Dr. Atterbury was preacher at the chapel.

Dr. Radcliffe was a prodigious gossip, and when indulging this weakness with persons whose time was valuable, or whose intelligence despised such small entertainment, he did not escape being stigmatized as a bore. This elicited one of Prior's happiest epigrams :—

I sent for Radcliffe, was so ill,
The other doctors gave me over ;
He felt my pulse, prescribed his pill,
And I was likely to recover.
But when the Wit began to wheeze,
And wine had warmed the Politician,
Cured yesterday of my disease,
I died last night of my Physician.

In writing to his right reverend patron Bishop Trelawney, Atterbury introduces the following anecdote of his celebrated friend :—

June 15, 1704.

Dr. Breach is in town, being sent for by the Master of the Rolls in order to take care of my Lady Trevor, whom Radcliffe

had given over as incurable. I am afraid she is so: however, the very sending for Dr. Breach (as it displeases Radcliffe much, and may perhaps occasion a *breach* there), so it is for Dr. Breach's honour; and, if ever he thinks of settling in town, will make way for him. The Master thought it a compliment to Radcliffe not to join any of the London physicians with him, but to send for an old crony of his to consult with him. But Radcliffe, I find, is nettled with this conduct. He sets out speedily for the Bath with Colonel Specot.

Dr. Mead possessed high social eminence. He had travelled extensively, and acquired in Italy such taste and judgment in the Fine Arts, as enabled him to form an excellent gallery of paintings. As a scientific physician he ranked with the foremost—indeed filled a distinguished place in the Royal Society, of which he was one of the vice-presidents. His acquirements were held in the highest estimation by Sir Isaac Newton, and at the death of the eminent Dr. Radcliffe,* the world of rank, of fashion, and of science, at once accepted him as his successor. He was much in the society of men of letters, particularly in Atterbury's circle; but though sometimes engaged in professional controversies, took no prominent part in politics.

Dr. Garth wrote his poem, "The Dispensary," when the College of Physicians to which he belonged had their quarrel with the apothecaries near the close of the seventeenth century, respecting a charitable institution the former desired to establish to provide medicines for the sick poor. It was an exposure of the mercenary spirit that prevailed in the subordinate

* November 1st, 1714.

members of the profession, which met with marked encouragement—six editions being called for in as many years. He had previously attacked quacks in an annual oration in Latin before the College, which evinced no less scholarship than spirit. He had been educated at Cambridge.

Pope was one of the most earnest of his admirers, and Addison not less cordial—in short, his active benevolence, quite as much as his great talents, recommended him to all discerners of merit.

His political principles were displayed by his joining some friends of the Hanoverian succession, who met at a tavern in King Street, Westminster, close to the shop of one Christopher Kat, who supplied them with pastry. This name, abbreviated to "Kit Kat," was adopted as that of the club. It was eminently convivial, and included men of distinction, who prided themselves on their good fellowship, circulating as much wit as wine. Dr. Garth distinguished himself amongst them by his readiness in the expression of epigrammatic humour. He possessed good feeling as well as good humour, and when his patron, Lord Godolphin, was displaced in 1710, he addressed his lordship in a complimentary poem.

Dr. Garth, while enjoying the credit of ranking among Atterbury's friends, received the additional distinction of being the subject of a poem on the merits of his "Dispensary," from the pen of Dr. Atterbury's former pupil. This was published with the work, with other complimentary verses—a mode of advertising that had not quite gone out of vogue. The doctor, however, drew off from both

these earnest friends, when their political principles brought responsibility to master and pupil. But the physician was a courtier, and having paid his court assiduously to the rising Churchman, paid it still more assiduously to persons of greater influence when patronage was at their disposal.

One of the earliest of Dr. Garth's public appearances was at the trial of Spencer Cowper, for the alleged murder of a handsome Quakeress, Hannah Stout. He was a rising barrister, and the girl had seen him and become enamoured of his good looks; and after an interview at her father's house in Hertford, in which he had apparently given her no encouragement, she was found drowned in a neighbouring piece of water, called the Priory River. The Quakers, rather than submit to the reproach of one of their members having committed self-destruction, sanctioned a prosecution of the last person seen in her company. Garth was summoned on behalf of the prisoner to give medical evidence against the opinion of some of the witnesses for the crown, that the girl had been made away with, and then thrown into the water. His evidence was conclusive as to suicide, and the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty."

Of the many kindly acts performed by him which rendered him eminent among the philanthropists of his age, were his exertions to secure for the corpse of John Dryden suitable funereal honours. The great poet died on the 1st of May, 1700, leaving his widow, Lady Elizabeth Howard, slenderly provided for. It has been stated that Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, promptly sent word that an interment in

the Abbey would be provided free of expense, and that about the same time Lord Halifax communicated to the family his wish to provide a fitting monument, and defray all expenses. All, however, that is certain, is, that Dr. Garth, learning the distress of Lady Elizabeth and her children, caused the body to be taken to the College of Physicians, and instituted a general subscription, which enabled him to honour the poet's remains with a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey, after he had pronounced a Latin oration to a distinguished company of mourners who had assembled in the College.

Atterbury, while writing to his old friend Bishop Trelawney on clerical affairs, did not forget occasionally to season his epistle with town gossip. In July, 1703, he announced that "Margarita, the Italian singer, is run away lately from the man who brought her over, and enjoys the profits of her singing. And the town hath, upon that, produced the scandal which I enclose:—

ORPHEUS AND MARGARITA.

Hail, sacred pair! tell by what wondrous charms
One 'scaped from Hell and one from Greber's arms.
When the soft Thracian struck the trembling strings,
The winds lay hushed and furled their airy wings.
And since the tawny Tuscan raised her strains,
Sleep lulls our fleets and trances our campaigns:
Why both attract, the Muses can relate—
He trees and stones—she Ministers of State."

One of the subjects of town talk soon after the commencement of the century was the duel between Dr. Atterbury's late pupil, the Hon. Charles Boyle, M.P. for Huntingdon, and Mr. Wortley, the defeated candidate. They fought, as was customary,

with swords, and the result was in Mr. Boyle's favour; but he was so severely wounded, that it was some months before he became convalescent. His election had been opposed on the ground of illegal practices; and during a debate in the House of Commons, he had defended himself spiritedly, not forgetting to reflect on his opponent. Much publicity, therefore, was given to the quarrel, and the encounter was for several days the favourite topic at White's Chocolate House, the coffee-houses, and the clubs.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERARY FRIENDS.

Atterbury's Intimacy with Contemporary Men of Letters—Dryden's Loyalty and Religion—His "Hind and Panther"—Prior, as Diplomatist and Poet—Was he ever a Vintner?—The "Town and Country Mouse"—Prior in Parliament—His "Solomon"—Atterbury's Opinion of "The Tale of a Tub"—Swift connected with the Tories—His "Project for the Advancement of Religion"—Steele—His Plays—Originates the *Tatler*—Addison dedicates his Remarks on Italy to Swift—His Career as a Statesman and as a Journalist—Contributors to the *Tatler* and *Spectator*—Sir Isaac Newton—Lord Harcourt and St. John—Pope—His close Intimacy with Atterbury—Gay—Pope's Affection for him—Dennis, the Critic.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY had written both verse and prose, with a fair amount of success; and while enjoying his respectability as a court chaplain, cultivated the opportunities this post afforded him for associating with men of letters. Some of these had already been school or college associates; but he contrived to make intimacies with others not less worthy of his regard. The reign of Queen Anne has secured an Augustan celebrity for its literature—this is surely an exaggeration; nevertheless there was an impulse then given to the cultivation of imaginative, political, and critical composition, by the publication of periodicals that produced the great results of the

century. To this impulse Atterbury largely contributed; but before his labours are described, it is necessary to dwell upon those of his immediate predecessors, who prepared his mind for the conflict of opinion, in which he was desirous of gaining distinction.

Dryden's facility in adopting himself to circumstances, was shown in two compositions written within a couple of years of each other. In the first he wrote thirty-seven verses in this style:—

> Though in his praise no man can lib'ral be,
> Since they whose Muses have the highest shown,
> Add not to his immortal memory,
> But do an act of friendship to their own.*

In the second he put together a longer and more laboured composition to

> The *best*, and best beloved of Kings,
> And *best deserving to be* so!

The first was to the immortal memory of Oliver Cromwell, the other to the very mortal memory of his contrast, Charles II. The poet, not content with, in the latter instance, producing a farrago of inflated nonsense in honour of the dead king, pays court to his successor, by concluding with a complimentary prophecy equally fallacious. James is first referred to as a nonsuch:—

> But ere a Prince is to perfection brought,
> He costs Omnipotence a second thought.

The "lively sense of favours to come" then intoxicates his muse into predicting:—

* Heroic Stanzas, &c. Dryden's Poems, I. 109. Cooke's Edition.

With a distant view I see
Th' amended vows of English loyalty;
And all beyond that object there appears
The retinue of *a prosperous reign—*
A series of successful years! &c., &c.*

In the year 1682 Dryden published his first religious poem, "Religio Laici; or, The Layman's Faith," representing the Scriptures as the only religious authority and guide. It appears to have been written for a friend who was translating Simon's Critical History of the New Testament, and advocated the reformed Church of England, in preference either to the Church of Rome, or the doctrines of the Nonconformists. On the Roman priests of the Middle Ages, and the sectarians of his own time, he is sternly severe. This poem forms a curious contrast with "The Hind and Panther," written only five years later; but in the interval the Duke of York had ascended the throne, and honours and rewards were to be had by writers of talent who would undertake to write up the Papacy and write down the Reformation.

Dryden abandoned Protestantism for Popery, and, with an extravagant estimation of the faith he embraced, endeavoured to decry the one in which he had been reared; completely oblivious of the striking truths he had expressed a few years before in his "Religio Laici." It has been stated that he made the change from the resentment he had cherished against the Church of England, because he had been refused when he sought ordination, and denied the provostship of Eton when a candidate. This is adverted to

* Threnodia Augustalis. Dryden's Poems, I. 108.

as a fact by those who commented on his apostasy. His malevolent feeling towards the Anglican clergy he exhibited at every opportunity, as rancorously as he maligned the Protestant faith.*

Dr. Stillingfleet had ably exposed a publication purporting to be drawn up from documents written by the late King†—about the last person likely to have written a line of them—and Dryden rushed into controversy with more zeal than discretion.‡ After lauding his adopted church, with this illogical argument:—"The church is more visible than the scripture, because the scripture is seen by the church," he as maliciously as falsely asserts of the Reformation:—"It was erected on the foundation of lust, sacrilege, and usurpation, and that no paint is capable of making lovely the hideous face of it."

The Reformation in England had had a century of development before Henry VIII. was born, and was the national protest against Papal abuses the writer had described only two or three years before:—

> Then Mother Church did mightily prevail,
> She parcelled out the Bible by retail,
> But still expounded what she sold or gave,
> To keep it in her power to damn or save.

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* "But, prythee, why so severe always upon the priesthood, Mr. Bayes? You, I find, still continue your old humour, which we are to date from the year of Hegira, the loss of Eton, or since Orders were refused you." "The Reasons of Mr. Bayes' changing his Religion considered," &c., by Thomas Browne, 1688. "The late Converts exposed," &c., 1690, a second part of the preceding. "Ever since a certain worthy bishop refused orders to a certain poet, Mr. Dryden has declared open defiance against the whole clergy."—LANGBAINE.

† "Answer to some Papers lately printed concerning the Authority of the Catholic Church in matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England," 1686.

‡ "A Defence of the Papers written by the late King of Blessed Memory and found in his strong box," 1686.

> Scripture was raised, and as the market went,
> Poor laymen took salvation or content
> As needy men took money, good or bad.
> God's word they had not—but the Priests' they had.*

Dr. Stillingfleet replied to the traducer with well merited severity.†

The royal papers were notorious fabrications; nevertheless there were plenty of advocates for their genuineness.

"If I thought," wrote the Doctor, "there was no such thing as true religion in the world, and that the priests of all religions are alike, I might have been as nimble a convert and as early a defender of the royal papers as any one of these champions. For why should not one, who believes in no religion, declare for any?"

This serious charge might have been founded on the absence of any religious principle in Dryden's career. On this subject an able apologist has said:—"His tendency to profaneness is the effect of levity, negligence, and loose conversation, with a desire of accommodating himself to the corruptions of the times, by venturing to be wicked as far as he durst. When he professed himself a convert to Popery, he did not pretend to have received any new conviction of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity." ‡

His new conviction came from the same source that had changed him from a partisan of the Commonwealth to an enthusiast for the monarchy—a desire of advancing his own interests; and with this

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* Religio Laici.

† "A Vindication of the Answer to some late Papers," 1687.

‡ Dr. Johnson, "Lives of the Poets."

impulse he sat down to write a long poem of a controversial character, in which the Church of Rome was to be represented by an innocent hind, and the Church of England by a sanguinary panther. The converted poet's determination to recommend himself to the royal convert was evident; while pourtraying the first as a harmless creature, no less servilely sycophantic was his representing as a savage beast a church that had not committed a single massacre, had refrained from establishing the inquisition, and had never ventured upon a solitary religious crusade. The two animals enter into a controversy on doctrinal points, in which the gentler creature has it all her own way. Not satisfied with these labours, Dryden showed his devotion to the cause of his royal master by translating Varilla's History of Heresies; but this he did not complete. Dr. Burnet heard of his labours, and was more severe upon them than Dr. Stillingfleet had been of his previous experiment. In reference to the published poem and the announced translation, he wrote:—

> If his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, we shall hardly find that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion, to choose one of the worst. It is true he had somewhat to sink from in matters of wit; but as for his morals, it is scarce possible for him to grow a worse man than he was.*

It was Dryden's famous political poem that again brought him directly under the attention of Atterbury. His religious writings, though to him not worth translating, were always worth reading.

Many of Dryden's contemporaries had an enthu-

* Defence of the Reflections on the Ninth Book of the First Volume of Varilla.

siastic appreciation of his merit. Congreve, who edited his dramatic works, asserts, in his Dedication of them to the Duke of Newcastle:—"He was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination, as well as in judgment—witness his 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day,' and his Fables, his latest performances." He presently adds to his encomium:—"I have heard him frequently own with pleasure that if he had any talent in English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson." It is a pity that such frequent perusal should have kept him insensible to the arguments of the accomplished primate, while doing justice to his style. Congreve felt that he had a duty to perform, having thus been appealed to:—

> Be kind to my remains, and O defend,
> Against your judgment, your departed friend;
> Let not th' insulting foe my fame pursue,
> But shade those laurels that descend to you.

He was, therefore, as kind to his literary, as was Dr. Garth to his human remains; all errors of omission and commission were forgotten in a desire to honour the man whose intellect had made a lasting impression on the taste of his age. As Atterbury was a warm admirer of Pope, who professed as cordial an appreciation of Dryden, it is not unlikely that the poet was favourably considered by the former when the apostate was most condemned.*

* Charles and John Dryden had entered the service of the Pope, in which the latter died of fever the following year; but the elder brother had left Rome and returned to England. About four years after his father's funeral, in attempting to swim across the Thames near Datchet, he was drowned. The youngest son of

Edmund Smith was also educated at Westminster School and Christ Church College. Having acquired the usual scholastic advantages, he proceeded to London, and began to write for the theatre. His "Phædra and Hippolytus" came out with a Prologue by Addison; then he wrote a poem on the death of John Philips; and subsequently employed himself upon translations. Though he acquired some celebrity as a poet and a scholar, he obtained more as a sloven. Among the women he was known as "The handsome sloven;" by his own sex he was called "Captain Rag." He grew as careless of his habits as of his dress, and gradually slunk into sloth and drunkenness.*

Prior, after he left Westminster, is said to have lived with his uncle, a vintner, in Charing Cross; but the poet's reference to him suggests an hypothetical employment, consequently the anecdote about his proficiency in the classics having gained him the patronage of those noblemen who frequented his kinsman's tavern, is open to question. Prior says:—

> My uncle, rest his soul, *when living*,
> *Might* have contrived me ways of thriving,
> Taught me with cyder to replenish
> My vats, or ebbing tide of Rhenish.
> So, when for Hock I drew pricked white wine,
> Swear it had the flavour, and was right wine.†

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the poet, Erasmus, who was not educated at Westminster, but at the Charter House, after filling at Rome the post of Captain of the Pontifical Guards, succeeded to the Baronetcy in his family; but leaving no son, when he died in 1710, the succession was continued by an uncle, and after several singular changes, the titl is now possessed by Sir Henry Edward Leigh Dryden, of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire.

* He died in the year 1710.

† Epistle to Fleetwood Sheppard, Esq. Prior's Poems, Vol. III.

He was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1682; and in the course of a few years the evidences he gave of his talent made him the delight of the University. He gained an introduction to the Earl of Dorset, who secured for him the appointment of Secretary to Lord Dursley (Earl of Berkeley); in 1690 was appointed Plenipotentiary from the Court of St. James to the Congress at the Hague. In a Latin letter, addressed to his principal, the young Secretary mentions the marriage of his lordship's daughter, Lady Theophile Lucy, to Mr. Robert Nelson.* During his diplomatic service he contrived to write several poetical pieces—generally in a careless easy style, with irresistible touches of pleasantry, and occasionally with indications of feeling.

It was in 1692 he paid his court to William III. by ridiculing Boileau's Ode to Louis le Grand; but a more characteristic production of his was written in Holland in 1696. It commences:—

> While with labour assiduous due pleasure I mix,
> And in one day atone for the business of six,

And concludes much lively versification with

> But why should I stories of Athens rehearse,
> Where people knew love and were partial to verse?
> Since none can with justice my pleasures oppose,
> In Holland, half drowned in interest and prose.
> By Greece and past ages why need I be tried,
> When the Hague and the present are both on my side?
> And is it enough for the joys of the day,
> To think what Anacreon or Sappho would say?
> When good Vandergoes and his provident vrow,
> As they gaze on my triumph, do freely allow

* The Editor of the "Biographia Britannica" quotes this as the only specimen of his Latin epistolary style. Of his Latin poems and epitaphs there are many examples.

That search all the province, you'll find no man there is
So blessed as the *Englisen Heer Secretaris.**

Serious subjects presented themselves, and he did justice to his poetical powers, as in the Ode to King William after the Queen's death, 1695.

He was also present at the Congress which concluded the peace of Ryswick, as Secretary to the British Embassy. [He had previously been appointed a Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, and nominated principal Secretary of Ireland.] This was a remarkable treaty, for by it on the one part Louis XIV. abandoned the cause of James II., and on the other William III. abandoned the cause of the Huguenots.

After this Prior accompanied the Earl of Portland as Secretary, when his lordship was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France.

The production that first brought Prior into notice was his inimitable burlesque on the "Hind and the Panther." The provocation which Dryden's barefaced attempt to falsify history had offered to the whole Protestant community, gave the "Town and Country Mouse" special claims to attention. Its popularity caused it to be quoted everywhere, greatly to the irritation of the new Court poet, who could not reconcile himself to the ridicule it drew upon him. Atterbury, by his translation of "Absalom and Achitophel," had evinced his admiration of the author; but in the poet's new capacity of propagandist of Popery and Jesuitism, he excited his indignation —under which feeling, if he did not contribute to this memorable castigation of the recreant West-

* Miscellaneous Works, 1740, p. 23.

minster by his clever schoolfellow, there can be no doubt that he enjoyed it thoroughly when published.

Prior was kept constantly occupied in negotiations, some of a very confidential nature. His chief was anything but qualified for his office, but contrived to dress the character of Ambassador from the Court of St. James's becomingly. Had Portland's intelligence been equal to his magnificence, his secretary might have had less to do. Nevertheless, alternating politics with poetry, he appears to have passed his time agreeably—sometimes in France, sometimes in Holland. Having won golden opinions from nearly all influential persons in the King's diplomatic service, he wrote the "Carmen Seculare"—an elaborate compliment to his sovereign.

In the year 1700 Prior was created Master of Arts by mandamus, which was very agreeable to him, for he continued to interest himself in classical studies, as became an old Westminster, and Dr. Busby's pupil.

His diplomatic labours, however, presently were interrupted by his removal from the embassy; and in 1704 he entered Parliament as member for East Grinstead. Soon afterwards came the impeachment of Lords Portland, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, for arranging the Partition Treaty, and the turmoil between the two Houses. This was Mr. Prior's first session, and a very stormy one it was; it was the last Parliament of William III. The King dissolved it on the 11th of November, and called another to meet on the 30th of the following month. He died on the 8th of March.

When Queen Anne succeeded to the throne, Prior found ample employment for his muse. The crowning victory at Blenheim afforded him an opportunity of again ridiculing the rant of Boileau,—

Grand Roi, cesse de vaincre, ou de cesse d'écrire!

Other triumphs of the Duke of Marlborough were done justice to, but his desire to take a prominent part in politics soon afterwards caused him to neglect poetry for essay writing.

The grace and tenderness of Prior are patent in the following lines from his "Henry and Emma," and are worth quoting as a poet's protest against feminine fashions:—

Thou, ere thou goest, unhappiest of thy kind,
Must leave the habit and the sex behind.
No longer shall thy comely tresses break
In flowing ringlets on thy snowy neck;
Or sit behind thy head, an ample round,
In graceful braids, with various ribbon bound.
No longer shall the bodice, aptly laced
From thy full bosom to thy slender waist,
That air and harmony of shape express,
Fine by degrees and beautifully less;
Nor shall thy lower garments' artful plait,
From thy fair side dependent to thy feet;
Arm their chaste beauties with a modest pride,
And double every charm they seek to hide.

Unquestionably the finest of Prior's poems is "Solomon," which contains passages that very few of his contemporaries could have equalled, whilst the amount of religious feeling and of philosophical knowledge to be found in it makes it worthy of having been produced by the friend of Francis Atterbury, and the colleague of Isaac Newton. The soaring of human reason to arrive at the subtle elements of Divine Intelligence is thus described:—

Alas! we grasp at clouds and beat the air,
Vexing that spirit we intend to cheer.
Can Thought beyond the bounds of Matter climb?
Or who shall tell me what is Space or Time?
In vain we lift up our presumptuous eyes,
To what our Maker to their ken denies,
The searcher follows fast—the object faster flies.
The little which imperfectly we find
Seduces only the bewildered mind
To fruitless search of something yet behind.
Various discussions tear our heated brain;
Opinions often turn, still doubts remain,
And who indulges thought increases pain.
How narrow limits were to Wisdom given!
Earth she surveys—she thence would measure Heaven!
Through mists obscure now wings her tedious way,
Now wanders dazzled with too bright a day;
And from the summit of a pathless coast
Sees Infinite—and in that sight is lost.

Both parts of this admirable production are full of similar beauties; and a perusal of them makes the reader of taste lament the evidences of indelicacy and coarseness to be found in the author's fugitive pieces. Atterbury was earnest in his admiration of his schoolfellow's good qualities, and watched his career with special interest.

It has sometimes been stated that Swift was the natural son of Sir William Temple, and the brother of "Stella;" but he was the son of Jonathan Swift, who died in Dublin in April, 1667, seven months after which his widow gave birth to his namesake in the house of his elder brother, Mr. Godwin Swift. Stella was most probably a natural child of Sir William, and was born at Richmond, in Surrey, not far from his mansion at Sheen. There can be no doubt that she was a pupil of Swift's when he resided with Sir William Temple.

After some previous study he repaired to the

principal English University. He was entered of Hart Hall (Hertford College), and took his Master of Arts degree in July, 1692. He always entertained a lively recollection of the kindness he experienced at Oxford. In a letter to his uncle, dated November 29th of the same year, he wrote:—"I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the University of Oxford to me. I had all the civilities I could wish for." He studied here till he returned to the house of his patron, Sir William Temple, Moor Park, where he wrote his "Tale of a Tub," published in 1705. He obtained preferment in Ireland, but subsequently came back to England, and wrote "The Battle of the Books," in which his patron and his Oxford friends were made to figure prominently. Having vainly endeavoured to obtain promotion from the King, he became Chaplain to the Earl of Berkeley, who procured him two livings in Ireland. He again visited Oxford, for his Doctor's degree, and shortly afterwards commenced his political career as the author of a discourse, in which Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax are introduced as Phocion, Aristides, Themistocles, and Pericles.

To Bishop Trelawney (June 15, 1704) Atterbury writes:—

I beg your Lordship (if the book is come down to Exon), to read "The Tale of a Tub," for, bating the profaneness of it, it is a book to be valued, being an original of its kind, full of wit, humour, good sense, and learning. It comes from Christ Church, and a great part of it is written in defence of Mr. Boyle against Wotton and Bentley. The town is wonderfully pleased with it.*

* Atterbury Papers.

On July 1, he adds:—

The author of "A Tale of a Tub" will not as yet be known; and if it be the man I guess, he hath reason to conceal himself because of the profane strokes in that piece, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than the wit can do him good. I think your Lordship hath found out a very proper employment for your pen, which he would execute very happily. Nothing can please more than that book doth here at London.*

The Queen, influenced by Lady Marlborough, highly disapproved of "The Tale of a Tub;" so also did Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York. The author's irreverent treatment of religious subjects created a prejudice against him, which proved a bar to his preferment in the Church of England. When he found the principal Whigs disinclined to forward his interests, and the imperious Duchess directing her royal mistress to consider him as little better than an infidel, Swift began to pay court to the Tory leaders. He wrote pamphlets on popular subjects; one, "Predictions for the Year 1708, by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.," was extremely popular.

In the year 1709 Swift published his *brochure* entitled "A Project for the Advancement of Religion," and dedicated it to the Countess of Berkeley, the lady of his patron, with whom he had lived as chaplain, not only at Berkeley Castle, but when Lord Berkeley was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The project is what might be expected from the author, or, as a contemporary stated, "It is written with the spirit of one who has seen the world enough

* Atterbury Papers.

to undervalue it with good-breeding." Swift's good-breeding, however, might have been improved upon—in his pleasantries unquestionably. The critic adds:

> The author must certainly be a man of wisdom as well as piety, and have spent much time in the exercise of both. The real causes of the decay of the interest of religion are set forth in a clear and lively manner, without unseasonable passions; and the whole air of the book, as to the language, the sentiments, and the reasonings, show it was written by one whose virtue sits easy about him, and to whom vice is thoroughly contemptible. It was said by one of the company, alluding to the knowledge of the world the author seems to have, "The man writes much like a gentleman, and goes to Heaven with a very good mien."*

He must have been known to Atterbury at Oxford. They renewed their acquaintance when both were beginning to make themselves names in the enlarged circle of town life. It will presently be shown how closely they were brought together, particularly as colleagues in literature and politics.

Steele having for a sufficient reason, as he himself describes his military experience, "cocked his hat, and put on a broad-sword, jack-boots, and shoulder-belt, under the command of the unfortunate Duke of Ormonde," was living upon the town as a gentleman at large—depending on his pen. He published "The Christian Hero" in 1701, he being then an ensign in the Guards. This was a moral treatise that certainly owed nothing to the writer's example, nevertheless its dedication to Lord Cutts procured for him the post of secretary, followed by promotion to a company in Lord Lucas's regiment of Fusiliers.

* Sir Richard Steele. *Tatler*, No. 5.

The author was better qualified as a dramatist than as a moralist, and had recourse to the theatre, where he succeeded in winning friends for his play of "The Funeral, or Grief à-la-Mode," who got him the appointment of Gazetteer. This connection with the press brought him many literary and political associates—Atterbury, his fellow-student, and Addison, his reputed schoolfellow, being the most distinguished.

To Addison Steele dedicated his comedy of "The Tender Husband, or the Accomplished Fools," first acted in the year 1704. It was a decided success, while "The Dying Lovers," an attempt at a moral play which followed, was as decided a failure.

It is curious that whenever the Captain endeavoured to be more correct in his writings than he was in his conduct, he obtained no favour; his reputation as a dashing thoughtless reckless soldier rendered his associates of the clubs and coffee-houses impatient of his delineations of a better life. This want of appreciation of his good intentions induced Captain Steele to attempt some other method of combining the qualifications of moralist and humorist, and he projected the publication of periodical essays on life and manners. The result was the *Tatler*.

In the production of his new serial Steele availed himself of the services of a literary acquaintance, then like himself striving to find a profitable investment for his talent. The obligations he was under to the inimitable wit and humour of this gentleman he has himself recorded. Dr. Swift, under the *nom*

de plume "Bickerstaff,"* forwarded contributions that materially assisted in making the work popular. They, however, did not long remain coadjutors, and having ceased to be friends, became bitter opponents. Steele called in the assistance of Addison, and both were under many obligations to the Whig leaders. Swift adopted opposite politics, and cordially joined in the proceedings of the Tories, particularly such as were suggested by his friend Atterbury. The *Tatler* had warmly praised those accomplished preachers Atterbury and Smalridge, but as soon as the element of Whiggism was permitted to appear, no High Church clergyman was commended.

Steele was assuredly treated illiberally by his coadjutor, who, not content with marking his own contributions to prevent their being claimed, took exclusive possession of Steele's original idea, the character of the immortal Sir Roger de Coverley, and in the same spirit terminated the knight's career, that no one should share in his popularity.† The paper fell off afterwards in circulation.

Addison, as the son of a clergyman, had strong claims upon the regard of Atterbury. He had distinguished himself as a scholar at Oxford, where he took his M.A. degree in 1693, and soon after strove to distinguish himself as a courtier in London, where he, in 1695, addressed a poem to King William, with some introductory lines to Lord Somers. He continued to

* Employed by him in the "Predictions."

† Addison's Edition. Tickell asserted that the papers in the *Spectator* had been marked by the author as a precaution against his colleague. This Steele resented.

write Latin verses, for two years later appeared those on the peace of Ryswick. They were handsomely rewarded in 1699, with a pension of £300 a year, and this permitted him to indulge in a tour through France and Italy.*

The Whigs were the possessors of office, and to their leaders Addison had devoted himself; Somers and Montagu obtaining the largest share of metrical honours. To the Chancellor of the Exchequer he was introduced by Congreve, to the Lord Keeper by himself, he having addressed to him his poem on William III. Notwithstanding his admiration of Dryden, Addison became the panegyrist of those the elder poet had most abused, and rivalled him in the extravagance of the eulogy by which he chose to rise. That he did rise by it there cannot be a question; it is, however, doubtful if in this way he served his patrons as effectually as he served himself.

As Aristides was ostracized for the frequency with which he was styled "the just," the popularity of the Dutch king had been placed in jeopardy by poetical courtiers insisting on his "godlike acts;" and his principal ministers had to endure more or less popular odium in consequence of the pertinacity with which the same authorities insisted on their perfection.

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* Addison wrote in a copy of his "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c.," 1705, 8vo: "To Dr. Jonathan Swift, the Most Agreeable Companion, the Truest Friend, and the Greatest Genius of his Age, this Book is presented by his most humble Servant, the Author." George Daniel, in *Notes and Queries*, VII., 255.

It was after Lord Halifax had been driven from the Government by grave charges that Addison, then making a tour in Italy, addressed to his lordship an epistle no less consoling than adulatory. There was a chance that his lordship might be restored to his position and his patronage; there was more than a chance that his Whig colleagues would reward any poet sufficiently adventurous to endeavour to stem the tide of opinion which threatened their party; and so it proved. The poet, on his return, was employed to sound the praises of a still more illustrious member of the Government. The result of the campaign was similar to that of its predecessors: posterity has found the demigod but poor human nature.

His foot secure on the first round of the political ladder, with the assistance of the be-praised Halifax Addison began to ascend.

The advantages of eulogizing a cabinet minister in respectable verse, and of being able to compose tolerable Latin poems, were in those days very great indeed. The Whig leaders of the present age would, I am afraid, be insensible to the distinction of an epistle in verse—however classical or poetic. Nor did Lord Godolphin stand alone in his regard for the poet; for the Marquis of Wharton, when appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, selected him to be his secretary, and gave him another post worth another £300 a year.

The fact was, England was then the paradise of eulogists. Every person of influence was sure of being the subject of poetic inspiration. In addition to Addison's labours in this direction just noticed,

the Court poet paid his devotions, in the way of a dedication to his opera of "Rosamond," to the then omnipotent Duchess of Marlborough.

Though loving money far more than poetry, "Queen Sarah" knew the value of a fluent writer, and secured his services as a supporter of the Duke's political interests.

The claims of Addison to Whig patronage could not be overlooked by grateful clients. He was appointed a Commissioner of Appeal by Lord Godolphin, and Lord Halifax, in 1705, took him to Hanover, where he left an impression that might be of service to him on a much desired contingency. On his return he was appointed Under Secretary of State, first to Sir Charles Hedges, then to Lord Sunderland.

As Atterbury was at this period devoting his energies to the advancement of opinions in direct opposition to those of the Government, the hostility of these Whig writers became a matter of course; it was sometimes restrained by a sense of respect.

In the year 1709 Addison went to Ireland with Lord Wharton, and besides enjoying his official emoluments, succeeded Dr. William King as Keeper of the Records, with an increased salary. During his absence the excessive adulation the dispensers of patronage had received was creating a reaction in the public mind. One idol after another had been overthrown. At last Atterbury and his High Church friends combined their force for a general shock, and the entire temple of Whiggism was overthrown. Addison had the mortification of seeing all the illustrious patrons he had endeavoured to deify tumbled

from their pedestals, and their very mortal clay exposed to derision and contempt. This apparently made him more Whiggish; and, in conjunction with Steele, set him to work at journalizing, partly to defend his fallen patrons, partly to attack their periodical assailants.

It was while Addison was in Ireland that Steele, on the 12th of April, 1709, commenced the *Tatler*, the first of a small armament of journals in which both writers separately or in conjunction led the van. It was begun without any assistance from his friend, but as soon as the latter became aware of its existence he forwarded a contribution, followed by others, till the dismissal of the Whigs afforded him more leisure, and he employed the bulk of it in essay writing. Though the *Tatler* stopped January 2, 1711, neither Steele nor Addison chose to remit their labours as Whig journalists while aware that Atterbury and his colleagues were actively engaged in supporting the Tories. The *Spectator* was therefore started on the 1st of March, 1711, and met with well-deserved success.

Addison brought out his play "Cato" in 1713, Pope writing the prologue and Garth the epilogue.* Certain sentiments expressed in the play made Whigs and Tories equally eager to identify their cause with its success. Lord Bolingbroke was present at the first representation, and sent for Booth, who played

* The Editor of the "Biographia Britannica," Vol. I., p. 36, Edition 1747, states that Dr. Atterbury was the author of the Latin translation of "Cato's Soliloquy," published in the *Spectator*, No. 628. This, however, was written by Dr. Bland, Head Master, afterwards Provost of Eton and Dean of Durham.

the principal character, into his box, where he presented the accomplished actór with a purse of fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against "Perpetual Dictators." Pope, in a letter, adds:—

> The Whigs are unwilling to be distanced in this way, and therefore design a present to the same Cato very speedily. In the meantime they are getting ready as good a sentence on their side; so betwixt them it is probable that Cato, as Dr. Garth expressed it, may have something to live upon after he dies.*

A pamphlet called "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," published by Swift, so annoyed the party, that Lord Halifax moved in Parliament that a public censure should be passed upon it. The satirist was, as usual, sufficiently abusive, but his lordship, having gone through the castigation of Dryden in prose and verse, ought to have been able to endure this attack without flinching.

Mr. John Hughes contributed nineteen articles to the *Spectator*, three to the *Tatler*, and several to the *Guardian*, its successor. He possessed considerable merit as an essayist, critic, poet, and translator, and was much respected by Pope, Steele, Rowe, Congreve, and Southern. Addison does not appear to have treated him well in refusing to insert some complimentary verses, written to be published with his play "Cato;" but his modest disposition endeared him to friends of a more genial spirit, and Lord Cowper, and afterwards Lord Macclesfield, afforded him a comfortable employment as

* Letter to Sir William Thornhill, Vol. V. Pope's Letters.

Secretary to the Commissioners of the Peace. "The Siege of Damascus" was considered his best play, which Pope warmly commended.*

John Byron was a pastoral poet, and obtained no slight celebrity, in consequence of Addison having inserted in No. 603 of the *Spectator* his poem, entitled "Colin and Phœbe." The source of his inspiration was Joanna, daughter of Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, where Byron was a student. He had previously been a contributor to the same periodical of two prose papers, and as the critic was one of its subscribers, these were sure of coming under his notice. The Doctor seems to have been pleased with them, and the author was soon afterwards a Fellow of the College, and a Master of Arts. He did not succeed with the young lady, who subsequently married Dr. Cumberland, Bishop of Clonfert and Killaloe, and became the mother of Richard Cumberland.

There is a playfulness in these verses that no doubt recommended them to the father if not to the daughter, and now and then a touch of sentiment that must have been equally appreciated. For instance, the verse,—

> Rose, what has become of thy delicate hue?
> And where is the violet's beautiful blue?
> Does aught of its sweetness the blossom beguile?
> That meadow—those daisies—why do they not smile?
> Ah! rivals. I see what it was that you dressed,
> And made yourselves fine for—a place on her breast;
> You put on your colours to pleasure her eye,
> To be plucked by her hand—on her bosom to die.†

* The author died on the day of its first representation, February, 17, 1719–20.

† In after years he invented a system of short-hand, and taught many distinguished pupils, among them Lord Camden and Drs. Hoadly and Hartley. In

Rowe had written a series of tragedies, of which "The Fair Penitent," "Jane Shore," and "Tamerlane," enjoyed a large share of popularity, and they brought him the important patronage of the Duke of Queensberry, who, when Secretary of State, appointed him Under Secretary. His poems, especially his translations, were also much admired. His last, Lucan's Pharsalia, gained him high commendation from Addison,* to whose party he had attached himself, and had been appointed Poet Laureate, as well as received two or three employments that secured him an excellent income. He was a great favourite with some of his contemporaries, whose affection for him still survives in verse,—

Zealous and active like immortal Rowe;

and "soft complaining Rowe" will be found in the complimentary verses of Amherst. When he died, December 6th, 1718, his old schoolfellow and warm admirer, Francis Atterbury, performed the funeral service, as he was interred in the Abbey, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory; but a more enduring memorial was raised for him by a mutual friend. Pope wrote:—

1724 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed to its Transactions two lettters on the subject. He wrote other poems of more pretension; such was "The Fall of Man," as a reply to certain opinions of Bishop Sherlock, and "Enthusiasm," which is as full of classical as the former is of religious allusions; but neither attracted the attention bestowed on "Colin and Phœbe." His devotional appear to have been as singular as his poetical ideas, sometimes mystical, in the manner of Jacob Behmen, whose works he studied, sometimes fanatical, after the more rigid sectarians; but he still professed attachment to the Anglican Church. He was more steady in his political principles, which he shared with Dr. Atterbury. He survived till September 28, 1763.

* *Freeholder*, No. 40.

"Poor Parnell—Garth—Rowe,

"You justly reprove me for not speaking of the death of the last. Parnell was too much in my mind—to whose memory I am erecting the best monument I can, by publishing, at his request, a select collection of his writings; yet I have not neglected my devoirs to Mr. Rowe. I am writing this very day his epitaph for Westminster Abbey. It is as follows:—

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we trust,
And sacred place by Dryden's awful dust.
Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies,
To which thy tomb shall guide enquiring eyes.
Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest!
Blest in thy genius—in thy love, too, blest.
One grateful woman to thy fame supplied,
What a whole thankless land to his denied.

The monument was erected at the expense of the widow of the deceased, a Dorsetshire gentlewoman (Mr. Rowe was her second husband); but these lines were not accepted as his epitaph.

Thomas Parnell had long moved in the same eminently social circle with Atterbury. He was a clergyman in Ireland, and aspired to be a fashionable preacher in London; but not succeeding, contented himself with assisting Addison and Pope, joined Atterbury's party, and paid court to Harley. He became a prebendary as well as a poet. His verses found numerous admirers; had the distinction of being edited by Pope and Goldsmith, and praised by Dr. Johnson; but the preferment he received in the Irish Church he scarcely enjoyed, for he died at Chester, in his thirty-eighth year, while travelling to take possession.

The favour with which Addison's "Cato" was

received greatly increased the reputation of the author. It so happened that it produced indications of friendly regard from Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and Pope, which excited some suspicions among his political associates, and a clever pamphlet was published with the title, "Mr. Addison turned Tory." This so disturbed him, that when Queen Anne sent him word that she wished his play to be inscribed to her, he cautiously published it without any dedication. That some approximation had taken place between Addison and the Tories is more than probable; but he had so completely cast in his fortunes with the Whigs, that desertion was out of the question.

With Sir Isaac Newton Dr. Atterbury enjoyed an intimacy that lasted twenty years. The philosopher was strongly attached to the Church of England, though liberally inclined towards those not of her communion. Among his various studies were chronology and theology, and at a later period he wrote "Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John."

Lord Halifax was enamoured of a niece of Sir Isaac Newton, the widow of Colonel Barton, but still young, and possessed of such personal attractions as rendered her the special object of convivial gallantry, and the theme of much sentimental versification. As an inscription on a wine-glass, the author of "The Toasters" writes:—

> Stamped with her reigning charms, this brittle glass
> Will safely through the realms of Bacchus pass;
> Full fraught with beauty, will new flames impart,
> And mount her shining image in the heart.

Another poet of the same class asserted that—

Beauty and Wit strove, each in vain,
To vanquish Bacchus and his train;
But Barton, with successful charms,
From both their quivers drew her arms;
The roving God his sway resigns,
And cheerfully submits his vines!

Among Lord Harcourt's meritorious acts in the service of literature, must not be forgotten his procuring a monument to the memory of John Philips, "to be erected in Poet's Corner, inscribed with a Latin epitaph, from the pen of Dr. Freind, the head master of the school." The author of "The Splendid Shilling" died February 15, 1708, in the thirty-third year of his age, to the irreparable loss of those to whom he was endeared by his amiable disposition, as well as by his virtuous and intellectual life; among whom the most distinguished were Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. Lord Godolphin rewarded him for his poem "Blenheim" with a pension. Philips never excited censure in any of his literary rivals, except Blackmore, whose

Envious muse by native dulness cursed,
Damns the best poems and conceives the worst.

St. John, like many other eminent contemporary statesmen, was very friendly to literary men. He found a home for John Philips in his town house, which kindness the poet acknowledges in a fine Latin ode, worthy of Horace. In "Blenheim" there is an equally grateful reference:—

Thus from the noisy crowd exempt, with ease
And plenty blest, amid the mazy groves
(Sweet solitude!), where warbling birds provoke
The silent muse—delicious rural seat
Of St. John, English Memmius, I presumed
To sing Britannic trophies—inexpert

> Of war—with mean attempt; while he, intent
> (So Anna's will ordains) to expedite
> His military charge, no leisure finds
> To string his charming shell. But, when return'd,
> Consummate Peace shall rear her cheerful head;
> Then shall his Churchill in sublimer verse
> For ever triumph—latest times shall learn
> From such a chief to fight, and bard to sing.

A more celebrated poet mentions the statesman's patronage of merit:—

> And St. John's self, great Dryden's friend before,
> With open arms received one poet more.*

Pope, like Atterbury, was a great admirer of Waller, till the works of Dryden fell into his hands. There are traces of the study of both popular poets in his early compositions. At sixteen he had made so many experiments in verse, that he thought himself qualified to attempt an epic poem; he therefore, taking his favourite models, wrote, with more industry than inspiration, till he had completed the task he had set himself. Doubtless he considered it a grand achievement, for he preserved it for several years with as much affection as care. "Alcander," however, like all the author's poetical efforts till his muse had developed its strength, was but an imitation, and not a very happy one. It was not till the year 1704 that he essayed a style of composition in which success was more easy.

Since the age of Spenser, the lovers of English poetry had exhibited a preference for descriptions of rural life; and although the Arcadian pictures brought before them were not more reliable than such as may still be found in the tapestry chamber or the china

* Pope.

closet, they pleased the fine gentlemen and fine ladies of that age, and even found admirers in persons of education and refinement. Pope, after a course of study of Virgil and of Spenser, produced his Pastorals, which he submitted in MS. to Wycherley, who appears to have been a guest of Sir William Trumbull when the young poet was staying at Easthamstead. These productions pleased the dramatist so much, that the author subsequently forwarded them to an amateur poet.

Mr. Walsh, as Gentleman of the Horse to Queen Anne, was thought worth propitiating, and his critical examination of the Pastorals desired with the usual humility of talent seeking appreciation in high places. The courtier, though possessed of little poetical talent, had a fair share of judgment, and suggested improvements—hinting also that more invention was equally desirable. Pope took the criticism in good part, and amended the versification; but it was beyond his power to invest with originality what was obviously imitative. In return Mr. Walsh forwarded the interests of his client as far as it lay within his power. He, however, died in the year the Pastorals were published (1708), and his memory was honoured in a much more important work on which the poet was then engaged.

Such late was Walsh, the Muses' judge and friend.

He had also been the friend of Dryden, who entertained an exalted opinion of his judgment; and his letters to Pope prove that this was not misplaced. The Pastorals had a fair amount of success, but "Windsor Forest," written also in 1704, though not

published till 1710, much increased the circle of admirers gained for him by the friendly recommendations of the Queen's Equerry. As a descriptive poem it is laboured, and somewhat dull; nevertheless it indicated poetical powers which were not lost upon the riper judgments of Congreve, Garth, Swift, and Atterbury. With the latter he had entered into a close intimacy, that extended to his personal friends, St. John and Harley, whose political opinions he adopted; nevertheless, this does not appear to have prevented his exciting a warm regard in Lord Lansdowne, to whom the poem was dedicated, as well as in Lords Somers, Sheffield, and Talbot.

The year in which "Windsor Forest" issued from the press was rendered memorable by the rise of Atterbury's friends to supreme political power, and their conclusion of "The Treaty of Utrecht," on which subject the poet dilated with something resembling inspiration at the close of his work, and in their favour makes a strong partisan reference to the defeated Whigs.

> Envy her own snakes shall feel,
> And Persecution mourn her broken wheel;
> There Faction roar, Rebellion bite her chain,
> And gasping Furies thirst for blood in vain.

Addison, who was intensely Whiggish, regarded this passage as reflecting on "the noble victory" he had exerted himself to immortalize, as well as upon the late ministry, his special patrons, and could not reconcile himself to the favour with which the poem was received. He displayed his prejudice* in the

* *Spectator*, No. 253.

following year. When ostensibly writing on envy and detraction, he mentions the recently published "Essay on Criticism," with much commendation certainly, but with an insinuation of deficiency of originality that could not but have been galling to the young author. The accomplished essayist continued his subject in subsequent papers, but the rising poet is not again mentioned. It is quite clear that Addison was merely deprecating the attacks made upon his patrons.

Pope never forgave the covert charge of plagiarism. He entered into friendly relations with Addison a little later, but discovering some underhand proceedings of his to create a prejudice against him, discontinued them, and waited his time for retaliation. He became intimate with Steele, whom he eulogized in his "Temple of Fame," and assisted in "The Guardian;" but when that furious partisan attacked Lord Oxford, he withdrew from all association with him and his colleagues, and drew closer to Atterbury, whom he regarded with as much affection as veneration.

Into this pleasant circle came John Gay, who had won the regard of Pope and Swift by his happy disposition, unaffected simplicity, and genuine good nature. His publications had as yet not been very important. The first was the "Rural Sports," a pastoral poem, written in a pleasant vein of rusticity—a vein which he worked out with greater care in his "Shepherd's Week." Pope had already made this Arcadian style in some degree popular, and Ambrose Philips had been striving to gain popu-

larity in the same way. Gay, however, was less artificial than either, and his success greater. The affectation of rural simplicity not unfrequently degenerates into commonplace, and examples of the art of sinking into bathos are not uncommon. For instance, in Philips, what can be more insipid than—

> Mild as a lamb and harmless as a dove,
> True as a turtle is the maid I love.
> How we in secret love I shall not say;
> Divine her name—and I give up the day.

Gay had a humour in his rustic narrative that saved it from vulgarity, as in—

> The witless lamb may sport upon the plain,
> The frisking kid delight the gaping swain;
> The wanton calf may skip with many a bound,
> And my cur Tray play deftest feats around;
> But neither lamb, nor kid, nor calf, nor Tray,
> Dance like Buxoma on the first of May.

The new poet pleased the Court; the Duchess of Monmouth had just taken him to be her secretary, and St. John accepted the dedication of his last pastoral.

Gay's "Trivia, or Art of Walking the Streets," followed his English Georgic "Rural Sports;" and the favour it received encouraged him to proceed to other poetical attempts. Pope, while applying for a subscription for his own translation of Homer to the Hanover Club, had been treated with rudeness by their secretary, Ambrose Philips, a successful rival as a pastoral poet. He now suggested to Gay the idea of supplanting Philips in this style of composition, and the author of "Rural Sports" assenting, produced in 1714 his "Shepherd's Week," which had all the effect Pope had anticipated.

Pope's affection for Gay is charmingly displayed in the letter the former addressed his brother poet on his return from Hanover.

"Welcome to your native soil!" it commences, "welcome to your friends! Thrice welcome to me! Whether returned in glory, blessed with Court interest, the love and familiarity of the great, and filled with agreeable hopes; or melancholy with dejection, contemplative of the change of fortune, and doubtful for the future—whether returned a triumphant Whig or despondING Tory, equally ALL HAIL! equally beloved and welcome to me. I know you will be *an honest man*, and an inoffensive one, incapable of being so much of either party as to be good for nothing. Therefore, once more, whatever you are, or in whatsoever state you are, ALL HAIL!"

He who wrote—

A wit's a feather, and a fool's a rod,
An honest man's the noblest work of God."

was sure cordially to appreciate John Gay, whose kindly unsophisticated nature had won the regard of Atterbury, and of all the members of his friendly coterie. Pope presently adds:—

Come and make merry with me in much feasting. We will feed among the lilies. (By the lilies I mean the ladies.) Are not the Rosalindas of Britain as charming as the Blowzalindas of the Hague? Or have the two great pastoral poets of our nation renounced love at the same time? For Philips, immortal Philips, hath deserted—yea, and, in a rustic manner, kicked his Rosalind.

The same cordiality met the returned secretary from all his literary friends. Philips was not merely a rival pastoral poet, and had thus rendered himself obnoxious to Pope; he was now joined with Steele and Addison as political partisans.

John Dennis was both poet and critic, and appears

to have eulogized and abused with about equal recklessness. "Ramilies" and "Blenheim," though great subjects, he had not the power to treat greatly; and his party pamphlets on behalf of the Hanoverian succession, or in support of Marlborough and Godolphin, were equally insignificant. His criticism and his plays are cast in the same contracted mould. He wrote "Plot and no Plot," 1697, to ridicule the Jacobites; but its littleness made it fall far short of its object. His name has been saved from oblivion in consequence of his figuring in the "Dunciad," for quarrelling with another illustrious obscure.

> Blockheads with reason wicked wits abhor,
> But fool with fool is barbarous civil war.

The idea is infinitely better than the rhyme. Atterbury, however, who was kindly considerate to everybody, proved specially so to the bitter critic. When Dennis had most influence, the fashionable London preacher had not made many adventures in authorship; in poetry, in scholarship, in divinity, and politics, his productions had not taken a shape that could provoke the hostility of the Aristarchus of his day; but if the author escaped this Scylla, he shortly found more than one Charybdis in clerical critics, whose acrimony by contrast must have rendered tonic the bitterness of John Dennis.

Atterbury's controversial works, though they raised a host of vindictive rivals, did not stop his preferment. As a High Churchman he was not long before he found the appreciation he deserved.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL FRIENDS AND FOES.

Whig and Tory—Robert Walpole—Lord Shaftesbury—Charles Montagu (Lord Halifax)—Robert Harley—Effect of Queen Mary's Death on Parties—Return to Court of the Princess Anne and the Marlboroughs—Position of Atterbury—Venality of Public Men—Jacobite Plots—Nonjuring Clergymen—Association for King William—Sir John Fenwick—King William reconciled to the Duke of Marlborough—Lord Sunderland and his son Lord Spencer—Lord Clancarty—Death of James II.—"The Pretender" acknowledged by the King of France as James III.—Dr. Burnet—Duke of Dorset—Death of William III.—Advantage to Atterbury of the Accession of Queen Anne—Walpole and the Marlboroughs—A Political Crisis—The New Influence—Trial of Dr. Sacheverell—Sir Simon Harcourt's Defence—Atterbury and Dr. William King's Proceedings—The *Examiner*—Dismissal of the Whigs and the Camarilla.

NEITHER of the party terms "Whig" and "Tory" is of English derivation. The first is a Scotch word for sour whey, for a long period the ordinary beverage of the poorer classes; the second is said to come from "*tar-a-Ri*," "Come, O King!" a frequent exclamation of the royalists during the rule of Cromwell. Roger North, in his "Examen," dwells on the use of opprobrious titles fixed on the favourers of Popery; and Burnet, who has been followed by most subsequent explainers, states that "Whiggan" was used by the carters of the South-west of Scotland

while driving their horses, and subsequently employed as a term of reproach against all persons in opposition to the Court.* Dr. Lingard traces Tory to *toringhin*—to pursue for the sake of plunder—and the pursuers, who were outlaws, hiding in bogs and inaccessible places, were termed rapparees and "Tories."

So much for these distinctive terms. What Whigs and Tories were during the career of Atterbury must now be stated.

Among the rising men in the House of Commons, during the reign of William III., was a Norfolk squire, member for Castle Rising, who affected a hearty zeal for popular principles in religion and politics; but for the first Robert Walpole cared very little, and the latter he entered into only in the spirit of partisanship. The arbitrary proceedings of the House, that appeared to have no higher object than the ruin of every distinguished man in or out of that assembly, to make way for the noisy crew who clamoured him down, found in him an active advocate.

In the following reign he was returned for Lynn Regis, and became attached to the Whigs, then assuming the exclusive advocacy of popular principles. He associated himself with the leaders of the party, with whom his convivial habits recommended him quite as much as his political enterprise. He was even noticed by the Duchess of Marlborough, whose penetration detected his usefulness.

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* Hist. of his Own Times, I., 43.

Anthony Ashley (the grandson of the Lord Chancellor), Earl of Shaftesbury, was first known to Dr. Atterbury as the member for Poole till 1698: he did not succeed to the earldom till his return from Holland. He gave important assistance to King William in the creation of a Parliament likely to assist in passing the beneficial measures his Majesty had projected, and is said to have been consulted by the King. On the accession of Queen Anne he paid very little attention to public affairs, devoting himself to literary pursuits, varied by another residence in Holland. Though his writings are of more than questionable tendency, and he indulged in severe reflections upon the clergy, he professed much admiration for the Sermons of Whichcote, for which he composed a Preface. He wrote several treatises, in an over-refined style, that found admirers. Those published in three volumes, in 1711, with the title of "Characteristics," are best known. His "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," his "Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author," and the "Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," were much praised; and Bishop Hurd styles his "Moralists: a Philosophical Rhapsody," published in 1709, one of the best productions of the kind in the language; but Dr. Blair has condemned its excessive elaboration. There was an affectation cultivated about this time of being classically philosophical, and the noble author adopted it. His lordship has had many imitators. In the summer of 1711 the state of his health induced him to travel to Italy, where he remained till he died, February 14, 1713.

Charles Montagu benefited by the instructions of Dr. Busby, and in 1683, when at the advanced schoolboy age of twenty-one, proceeded to Cambridge, to join his friend Stepney, who had preceded him to that university the year before. He soon distinguished himself among the versifiers of his age, assisting Prior in that admirable fable, "The City Mouse and the Country Mouse." He took care to let his share in the composition of such a clever parody be widely known, and the value of this service to the cause of Protestantism was recognized by King William when the Earl of Dorset, his Lord Chamberlain, introduced him with the suggestive recommendation, "I have brought a mouse to have the honour of kissing your hand." His Majesty, smiling, replied, "You will do well to put me in a way of making a man of him."* A pension of £500 a year was followed by public employments, and in a few years Montagu made such an impression in the House of Commons as to be considered one of the ablest statesmen and cleverest financiers of the age. He held the posts of Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Auditor of the Exchequer; and was created, 13th of December, 1700, a peer by the title of Baron Halifax.

The House of Commons, in the session of 1693,

* Prior refers to the patronage of his colleague, and the neglect of himself, in his "Epistle to Fleetwood Sheppard, Esq."

> "There's one thing more I'd almost slipt,
> But that may do as well in postscript;
> My friend Charles Montagu 's preferred,
> Nor would I have it long observed,
> That one mouse eats, whilst t'others starved!"

had been thrown into a state of intense commotion by the refusal of the King to sanction "the Place Bill." Popular opinions were expressed by the Tories, and Harley and his friends prepared a remonstrance, to which they gave the inoffensive name of "a representation;" and, with some modifications, this was presented as the address of the House. The King was courteous, but firm; the Tories were for insisting, the Whigs for conceding their right; and a division decided the question in favour of the latter by a large majority. The party became strengthened in the Ministry; the Earl of Shrewsbury accepted the seals and a dukedom, to the disappointment of the Jacobites, who had been striving to enlist him for James. At last the only Tories left in the Administration were the Lord President Carmarthen and the First Lord of the Treasury, Godolphin. Another naval disaster in Camaret Bay occurred, and it was affirmed that this had been caused by the Tory spies in the Cabinet; the party became unpopular, Jacobite agents were more active than ever in Lancashire and Cheshire, where new plots were discovered. Traitors and informers changed places, perfidy grew common, and the rascality of Titus Oates was rivalled by the scoundrelism of Taafe.

Just as the ex-government Jacobin informer had succeeded in saving the conspirators he had previously caused to be arrested, the Primate Tillotson expired, after a short illness, and a Churchman very much inferior to him in ability, Tenison, was appointed to the vacant archbishopric. This loss to the Church was shortly afterwards followed by a still

greater loss to the State: Queen Mary died of the small-pox, near the close of the year, and the new archbishop preached her funeral sermon.

At the head of the Tory chiefs was Robert Harley, who was rapidly gaining celebrity by professing High Church principles. He had distinguished the Court Chaplain by his notice, and evidently by such attention won his regard. A cordial intimacy led to a close communion of sentiment, political and religious; for the popular preacher found himself in an atmosphere where partisanship was a large element—where, too, it was constantly changing its character and increasing its intensity. The genuine Churchman was to be known by his devotion to the Church; but it could not always be clear to him that his Church was the one established by William and Mary. As the King desired to remain independent of the two parties, his administration was for some time a mixed one; and their contests for the entire control of the State were incessant.

The demise of William's amiable consort made important changes which powerfully affected Dr. Atterbury's interests at Court. The sermons he had preached before Queen Mary had been circulated far and wide; and though the preacher had not superseded her favourite, Dr. Burnet, he had been honoured with much kindly attention. Lord Somers, after her death, had recommended to the King a reconciliation with his sister-in-law, shortly after which the Princess resumed her apartments at St. James's, whence she had been banished for suspected sympathy with her father and brother. Atterbury was

already favourably known to her, and was not insensible to the advantage of improving his opportunities. But with the Princess came back the Marlboroughs, and through them alone could he hope to obtain any share of her royal highness's favour.

The death of her sister had left the Princess Anne next in succession to the throne; this materially altered the policy of her two friends. So far from suggesting submissive letters to the royal exile, or reporting to St. Germains important intelligence as evidence of devotion, they now studiously endeavoured to ignore all ideas of filial duty, and maintained a strict reserve respecting William's proceedings. Readers are sufficiently familiar with the easy terms on which Mrs. Freeman lived with Mrs. Morley; they can therefore the more readily understand how essential it was for the chaplain of the King to endeavour to make a friend of the confidante of the Princess.

The change in the position of affairs at St. James's was promptly taken advantage of by the royal exile at the court of St. Germains, and new conspiracies set on foot. Charnock, whom Atterbury had known as Vice-President of Magdalen College—the only apostate in the community—had since the Revolution taken up the trade of Jacobite spy, with the rank of captain in the military service of King James. He had been employed on secret errands between London and Paris, and now engaged in a plot to assassinate King William, and to organize an invasion from France. Nevertheless, William, after the successful siege of Namur, gained so much upon the

nation, that, in the general election for 1695, a large number of members was returned to support his government. The schemes of his enemies were obliged to be deferred.

In his various posts Lord Halifax took advantage of the facilities they afforded him of making money. Several instances of his having improperly secured large sums were brought under the notice of Parliament, but the King did not heed such accusations, and he was not molested.*

The perfidy of the confidential servants of William, in communicating his designs to his enemies in Paris, was, if possible, exceeded in baseness by the venality of such men as the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Trevor, and the Duke of Leeds, then Lord President of the Council. The latter was disgraced, and there remained only one Tory in the Government.

At the commencement of the year 1696, another gang of conspirators was despatched from France, and at their head was the Duke of Berwick, natural son of the expatriated king, who was to raise a general insurrection. The Duke failed, and returned to his

* When Queen Anne came to the throne, the opposition to him became more intense. He was attacked in prose and verse, and his sincerity called in question as much as his honesty. In "The Golden Age," the author says of the new sovereign :—

"Dissembling statesmen shall before thee stand,
And Halifax be first to kiss thy hand."

Nevertheless, so eminent a patron was sure to find plenty of poetical defenders. One addressed a poem to him as

Quintus Arbelius, to Charles, Lord Halifax.

"Thou, great Charles, the glory of that Court,"

meaning the court of the deceased King.

father; the ruffians were betrayed by a member of their own band, and only one succeeded in escaping to his employer. Charnock and some of his accomplices were executed; the discovery of the plot raised William to the highest eminence of popularity among his people, and sunk James into irretrievable contempt. The criminals were attended by nonjuring divines, whose ostentatious sympathy on the scaffold excited much popular odium against them. One, the celebrated Jeremy Collier, published a defence, which elicited among other answers a declaration signed by Archbishop Tenison and twelve bishops—all the prelates of the Anglican Church then in town.

The conduct of Collier and his nonjuring associates, Cook and Snatt, in publicly absolving, in the form employed in the Anglican Service for the Visitation of the Sick, convicted assassins, was regarded by all less bigoted Churchmen as a grave scandal. Atterbury, who had hitherto refrained from any exhibition of extreme views, either in religion or politics, must have looked upon it as a profanation. Jeremy Collier was determined to make the most of the opportunity for braving the Government, and published another defence; rather a collection of quotations than an argument. He fled the country, and was outlawed, but survived the sentence thirty years. Zealots of his stamp were common at this period; indeed the principle of the divine right of hereditary succession remained a stumbling-block to the courtiers of King William as long as he lived.

It came into great prominence shortly afterwards,

when the loyalty excited in the nation by the assassination plot made the Whigs endeavour to make great political capital, by forming an association to support the King; and a large majority of the members of the Lower House having subscribed such a declaration of union, the peers were required to add their signatures. The Tories objected to King William being styled "rightful and lawful" sovereign, and there was vehement discussion till the Duke of Leeds proposed the instrument should acknowledge that His Majesty had the exclusive right by law to the Crown; and this suggestion was adopted. Everywhere else the original language of the association was accepted, and in many places its members publicly wore a red ribbon encircling their hats, bearing the inscription, "General Association for King William." This enthusiastic loyalty largely increased the influence of the Whigs.

Confessions of plotters were invariably against distinguished Tories, with a view doubtless to secure the favour of the now dominant Whigs. Sir John Fenwick, one of the worst of double traitors, when his life was forfeited by the failure of the last conspiracy, denounced others as well as the leaders of that party, such as the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lords Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin. King William would hear of no accusations from such a source; but when Lord Godolphin proffered his resignation, it was accepted. Fenwick was proceeded against by a Bill of Attainder in the House of Commons, for having also endeavoured to cast suspicion on the leaders of the Whigs. The Tories now opposed this somewhat arbitrary if

not unconstitutional course, and there was fierce debating; but the bill, after some fluctuating divisions, passed by a majority of thirty-three.

Fenwick's Bill of Attainder was carried to the House of Peers on the 26th of November, 1696. Marlborough and Godolphin denied ever having had any communication with the prisoner, and there ensued more fierce debating. Among the speakers for the Bill Bishop Burnet distinguished himself. At the third reading the Primate also made a speech in its favour; but decreasing majorities marked every division, and the last showed one of *five* only. On the 28th of the following January, Sir John was executed on Tower Hill, attended by Dr. White, the displaced Bishop of Peterborough. A still heavier blow and greater discouragement was in store for the baffled Jacobites: their unfailing resource, "the Great King," abandoned the cause of James, and agreed to his being banished to Avignon, instead of remaining the patron of plotters at St. Germains. A day of thanksgiving for the peace was appointed for the 2nd of December, and Dr. Compton preached a sermon in the new cathedral of St. Paul's.

It was at the end of the parliamentary session of 1698 that William III. made some suggestive changes among his ministers. The Whigs had recently afforded many striking instances of dishonesty. He now appointed a Tory Secretary of State, Lord Jersey, and a Tory Privy Seal, Lord Lonsdale. There were other indications that the monopoly of confidence was coming to an end. Some elections took place in which Tory candidates gained a majority.

Before William left England for Holland in 1698, as evidence of his being completely reconciled to Marlborough, the latter was appointed Governor to the Duke of Gloucester, then in his ninth year, as well as a member of the Regency. The Bishop of Salisbury at the same time became the young Prince's Preceptor. Albemarle, one of the King's Dutch favourites, was on intimate terms with Marlborough, but the other, Portland, was not so well disposed towards him; he, however, was supposed to be declining in influence with the King. Marlborough's position, therefore, was one that ought to have satisfied any man's ambition; but it does not seem to have contented either him or his wife, whose appetite for power was getting insatiable.

The promise that had been given of removing the pretended English Court from St. Germains, had not been fulfilled. The Duke of Portland, now at the head of an Embassy to Louis XIV., remonstrated against this evasion of the understanding come to at the peace of Ryswick, and offered a handsome provision for the royal exiles if they were sent to Avignon, as previously arranged; but Louis would not expel his kinsman, nor would James, knowing the opportunities his present residence gave him for plotting against his hated son-in-law, hear of any change. Negotiations were carried on between the Courts of England and France on many subjects of interest, but the fugitive Jacobites remained in Paris waiting their opportunity for renewed action in combination with their confederates in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The character of Lord Sunderland was, in an eminent degree, that of the politician of the time; caring little for the principles either of Whig or Tory—caring less for religion, Roman or Anglican; ready to be everything by turns, but not longer than suited his interests, and being consistent only in his steady devotion to them. Towards the close of the reign of King William he was an assertor of popular rights, but his patriotism always began and ended in self. As a statesman he was full of resources, prudent and calculating, and did his best to consolidate the Whig party, because he was convinced that in the present temper of the nation they alone could establish a durable Government. He was Low Church, not either from partiality or conviction, but simply from antagonism—the opposing party being High Church.

His eldest son, Lord Spencer, had been educated under the corrupting influence of an age in which public virtue seemed almost ignored, and entered the House of Commons in the year 1695 on popular principles of a somewhat indefinite character. He was accomplished, possessed of much literary taste, a lover of books, a patron of authors, and apparently in every way gifted so as to insure for himself a brilliant career; nevertheless, there could be little doubt that his ideas of government were based on classical recollections rather than on a study of the English Constitution. He went with the Whigs in all their experiments on Church and State, but was too thoroughly an aristocrat to forget the privileges of rank; therefore was not more reliable a poli-

tician than his ever shifting, ever intriguing progenitor.

Sunderland had created for himself a reputation that made his favour with the King precarious; a large and increasing party in the House of Commons distrusted him. They at last made their unfavourable opinions so prominent that he found himself, in 1698, forced to resign his post of Lord Chamberlain, and with it his position of confidential counsellor to the King. The Whigs now felt themselves more secure, and proceeded to legislate for the strengthening of their own position, and for the further weakening that of their opponents. Acts concerning high treason were ostensibly directed against the Jacobites, but included the Tories suspected of holding secret communication with the exiled family. It so happened that they were scarcely passed when some Whigs found themselves unpleasantly affected by them, they being Lord Sunderland and his son, Lord Spencer.

A near relative, Lord Clancarty, had crossed the Channel in spite of the severe enactments just passed against the adherents of James; and Lord Spencer having ascertained that his sister—to whom the Irish nobleman had been married when they were both children—had given him refuge, denounced him to the Secretary of State. Clancarty was torn from the arms of his young wife and hurried to the Tower. Notwithstanding this harsh proceeding on the part of the brother-in-law, the notorious insincerity of Lord Sunderland laid him open to the suspicion of being engaged in treasonable communications. Con-

siderable sympathy was excited for the young couple; and when Lady William Russell, with true womanly devotion, took Lady Clancarty with her to Kensington to appeal to the King, a full pardon was not only promptly granted, but a pension given, to permit them to live in comfort abroad.

In the month of September, 1701, the exiled King, after returning from a visit to the waters of Bourbon, had another fit of paralysis, from which it was evident he would not recover. On hearing the news Louis visited him, and although a council of ministers had decided against any recognition of the son of the dying King, their monarch came to a different determination. In the presence of James's attendants he declared his intention of acknowledging, on the father's demise, his son as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. James died on the 16th, and his successor was proclaimed shortly afterwards at the palace gates by a herald, in the prescribed form, as "James III.," and was subsequently received at Court with the honours due to a sovereign Prince. He was a boy of thirteen, and played the King in a style that delighted the French courtiers: by English Protestants he was known only as "the Pretender."

The insult offered to the King of England by the grand monarque was resented by the whole nation as spiritedly as by William. A general election occurring at this crisis, the conflict of Whig and Tory was fought over again at the hustings—the popular candidate, as usual, laying all the blame of this wanton infraction of the treaty of Ryswick, as well as the responsibility of every evil that had afflicted

the country from time immemorial, on the Tories. They could make but little defence, and lost ground.

Atterbury, from his post of observation, had excellent opportunities for seeing the game of politics then playing. He saw quite enough to make him distrust the winning side. They made it more than sufficiently plain that they were not acting honestly.

The turn of the prosperous and popular Montague came at last, and he fared no better than other Whigs who had preceded him in their fall from political eminence. He was reviled in lampoons, and abused in pamphlets; attacked in debates, and ridiculed in coffee-houses. He lost his authority as leader of the House of Commons; he lost his position as Chancellor of the Exchequer; he lost his character as an able administrator of the State, and sank into the vortex of public opprobrium, with the name of "Filcher" as a brand on his reputation. Such was the last victim of popular institutions. The House became more and more arbitrary, till a Government coexisting with it seemed to be out of the question.

The Bishop of Salisbury's appointment as tutor to the Duke of Gloucester gave offence to many members of the House of Commons, and those who caused his sermon to be burnt by the hangman had seized the first opportunity that presented itself (1699) to attack him for having published unconstitutional sentiments. They moved an address to the King to remove him from his post of Preceptor to the heir apparent. The discussion that ensued created great excitement in St. James's; the Marlboroughs exerted

all their influence to defeat the motion, as if apprehensive that its results might compromise them. The address was negatived by a considerable majority. A similar attack on Lord Somers was attended with a like defeat.

Bishop Burnet was a zealous politician on the ministerial side; but the opposition of the two branches of the legislature caused his zeal so to outrun his discretion, that he uttered an exclamation of impatience and contempt when a peer was addressing the House in favour of amendments on the Irish Forfeiture Bill. When they came to a division the numbers were even; the adroit Primate made a sign to his episcopal brethren, and they all left the House. On the next division the amendments were abandoned, and the Bill suffered to pass.*

The Earl of Dorset was a genuine friend of literature, in which character he was be-dedicated to a prodigious extent. Among his lordship's numerous beneficent acts, none did him more honour than his liberality to John Dryden, after, on the accession of William and Mary, he had been dismissed from those offices (poet laureate and historiographer), and deprived

* Hampton, the translator of Polybius, writes of Burnet:—"His personal resentments put him upon writing history. He relates the actions of a persecutor and benefactor, and it is easy to believe that a man in such circumstances must violate the laws of truth. The remembrance of his injuries is always present. Let us add to this, that intemperate and malicious curiosity which penetrates into the most private recesses of vice."—"Reflections on Ancient and Modern History. Oxford, 1746." A much severer estimate of the Bishop's character will be found in Mr. Mark Napier's "Montrose and the Covenanters," I., 13, when commenting on Burnet's infamous letter, addressed to Lord Halifax, but intended for the King's perusal, a little before the execution of Lord Russell. Dr. Burnet was not then a Bishop, but he was a priest. Under his own hand he has left damnatory evidence of his want of principle.

of their emoluments, to gain which he had laboured so hard in the service of King James. Unostentatiously the Earl made the poet's life easy, by continuing the lost income out of his own resources.

Dorset displayed no small degree of talent in the art in which his eulogists Prior and Pope excelled. Very happy, and very suggestive to them, is the humour of his poem addressed to Edward Howard, author of "The British Prince," an epic, which Addison taught the public to laugh at by quoting the absurd couplet,—

> A coat of mail Prince Vortigern had on,
> Which from *a naked Pict his grandsire won!*

Lord Dorset thus attacks it:—

> Come on, ye critics, find one fault who dare,
> For read it backward, like a witch's pray'r,
> 'Twill do as well: throw not away your jests
> In solid nonsense that abides all tests.
> Wit, like tearse claret, when 't begins to pall,
> Neglected lies, and 's of no use at all;
> And in its full perfection of decay
> Turns vinegar, and comes again in play.
> Thou hast a brain, such as it is, indeed,
> Or what else should thy worm of fancy feed?
> Yet in a filbert I have often known
> Maggots survive when all the kernel's gone.
> This simile shall stand in thy defence,
> 'Gainst such dull rogues as now and then write sense.
> Thy style's the same, whatever be thy theme,
> As some digestions turn all meat to phlegm.
> He lies, dear Ned, who says thy brain is barren,
> Where deep conceits, like vermin, breed in carrion.
> Thy stumbling foundered jade can trot as high
> As any other Pegasus can fly.
> So the dull eel moves nimbler in the mud
> Than all the swift-finn'd racers of the flood.
> As skilful divers to the bottom fall
> Sooner than those that cannot swim at all,
> So in the way of writing without thinking,
> Thou hast a strange alacrity in sinking.

Thou writest below e'en thy own natural parts,
And with acquirèd dulness and new arts
Of studied nonsense takest kind readers' hearts.
Therefore, dear Ned, at my advice forbear
Such loud complaints 'gainst critics to prefer,
Since thou art turned an errant libeller.
Thou sett'st thy name to what thyself dost write—
Did ever libel yet so sharply bite!*

A careful comparison of these lines with much of "The Dunciad," and particularly with "The Art of Sinking in Poetry," shows a resemblance both in spirit and in phrase. The writer was worthy of imitation in other things, and well deserved the studied commendation of those men of letters he particularly obliged.

Pope wrote of him:—

Dorset, the grace of Courts, the Muse's pride,
Patron of arts and judge of nature, died;
The scourge of pride, though sanctified or great,
Of fops in learning and of knaves in state,
Yet soft by nature, though severe his lay,
His anger moral, and his wisdom gay.
Blest satirist, who touch'd the mean so true,
As show'd Vice had his hate and pity too.
Blest courtier, who could King and country please,
Yet sacred keep his friendship and his ease.
Blest peer, his great forefathers' every grace
Reflecting and reflected in his race;
Where other Buckhursts, other Dorsets shine,
And patriots steer and poets deck the line!†

* A poem to Mr. Edward Howard, on his incomprehensible poem, "The British Prince."

† Pope's Works. Prior was under considerable obligations to Lord Dorset, and these, in a dedication to his son, after his decease, inspired him to attempt to do justice to his merits. "Waller," he wrote, "thought it an honour to consult him in the softness and harmony of his verse, and Dr. Sprat in the delicacy and turn of his prose; Dryden determines by him, under the character of Eugenius, as to the laws of dramatic poetry; Butler owed it to him that the Court tasted his 'Hudibras;' Wycherley that the town liked his 'Plain Dealer;' and the late Duke of Buckingham deferred to publish his 'Rehearsal' till he was sure, as he expressed it, that my Lord Dorset would not rehearse upon him again. If we wanted foreign testimony, La Fontaine and St. Evremond have acknowledged that

On the 20th of February, 1702, William III. was thrown from his horse while riding in the park at Hampton Court. He fractured his collar bone; it was set, but the jolting of his carriage as he rode to Kensington Palace necessitated its being reset. The shock to his system was more injurious than the fracture, and in little better than a week dangerous symptoms manifested themselves: in another week his life was despaired of. The Primate and the Bishop of Salisbury attended him assiduously in his last moments. He received the Sacraments from their hands, and expressed the firmest faith in the truth of Christianity. In short, his end was no less edifying than his life; his last act and last word evincing a tenderness of heart that surprised all present who were familiar with his habitual reserve and apparent insensibility.

The accession of Queen Anne was an event of vast importance in the career of the Court chaplain. He had contrived to interest the Princess in his favour, and had won the regard of her husband, Prince George of Denmark. The new Queen at once showed her esteem for Dr. Atterbury in a way that excited the jealousy of those members of his profession who fancied they were entitled to a monopoly of Royal patronage, as well as the enmity of political adventurers eager to make the most of Court influence.

In the summer of 1705 Walpole was appointed as a member of the Council of Prince George of Den-

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he was a perfect master of the beauty and fineness of their language, and of all they call *les belles lettres*." He adds that he was equally accomplished as a connoisseur of art.

mark; two years later, by the Marlborough influence, he was placed at the Board of Admiralty. The Yorkshire squire had not only become a member of the Queen's Government, but a confidential friend of the Queen's favourite, and might consider himself on the high road to fortune. But the Government to which he devoted himself, and the royal affection for his patroness, on the duration of which all his hopes rested, though apparently firm as the foundations of the universe, had never been so insecure.

The Whig leaders were secretly disliked by the Queen, while the subjection in which Her Majesty lived under a Camarilla composed of the Duchess and her female connections, was becoming daily more intolerable.

Lord Dorset, whether in the royal household, in the Cabinet, as a diplomatist, or as a statesman, was always the cordial friend of genius. He remained the chief ornament of four several Courts, but in the last, that of Queen Anne, increasing infirmities caused him to retire from the Council to his seat in Sussex, where he died January 19, 1705–6, an irreparable loss to literature as well as to society.

At the close of the autumn of 1707 there were violent discussions in both Houses of Parliament, in the course of which first the Duke of Marlborough's brother, and then the Duke himself, were sharply attacked. There was an attempt to strengthen the Government, and the Marlboroughs made strenuous efforts to maintain their power, but the combined force of the entire Whig party failed to get rid of Harley by denouncing his secret correspondence with

France. They recommended the Queen to dismiss him. Her Majesty not following this advice, Godolphin and Marlborough gave in their resignations. Care was taken that they should be supported by the rest of the Whigs in office; and the Tories, not being prepared to form an administration, Harley had to give way, and with him went St. John and Lord Harcourt, equally warm friends of Atterbury. Walpole now became Secretary at War, in which he studied to make himself useful to the Duke and agreeable to the Duchess. Again there was immense confidence in the Whig camp, and equal satisfaction among the Camarilla, with no slight amount of insolence on the part of their haughty director. The Duchess of Marlborough and her daughters, Lady Godolphin and Lady Spencer, considered the Queen to be completely in their power, and behaved themselves accordingly.

But though Harley had been disposed of, at least two earnest friends of his could still share the royal confidence, to the prejudice of his political opponents. One of the Queen's female attendants, Abigail Masham, could be constantly with her in private, notwithstanding the untiring efforts of the Duchess to have her removed; and the other Harleian, the Queen's chaplain, could as little be prevented holding similar communications with equal secrecy.

The Government now distinguished themselves by their prosecution of Mrs. Manley for having written her once celebrated novel, "Memoirs of the New Atalantis," 1709, in which, under fictitious names, she had introduced the principal persons who had been

engaged in the Revolution. Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State, caused her to be committed to close custody, and debarred pen, ink, and paper. The Whig leaders, whom she had used with great freedom, fancied that she had been instigated to attack them; but after two or three examinations, that elicited nothing, they began to see the false position in which they had placed themselves, and discharged their prisoner. As a natural consequence, the authoress became amazingly popular, and her book extremely fashionable.

Walpole endeavoured to conciliate the new influence, which he could not help observing. Acts were done ostensibly by the Queen, but unquestionably by a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself. The Government were astonished by the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury as Lord Chamberlain. After this Walpole thought it high time to propitiate Mrs. Masham, and having obtained the Duke of Marlborough's approval, waited on Her Majesty with a list of officers for promotion, including the new favourite's husband; but, much to the Secretary of State's surprise, Queen Anne insisted that her friend's brother should also be in the list, and the Commander-in-Chief had no alternative but to comply. Another startling sign of authority now stirred the whole Court. This was the dismissal of Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State.

The share Dr. Atterbury had in these transactions does not appear in history, but his acknowledged participation in the powerful assault on the Government, that soon afterwards excited general attention,

make it sufficiently probable that he was as cognizant of them as his friends Harley or St. John. Walpole could scarcely have been unaware of this when he employed his voice and his pen in denouncing the Tory manœuvre. The manœuvre, however, proved irresistible; the Whigs strove with desperate tenacity to hold their places. It soon became clear that the Queen, despite of a long course of domineering, had adopted Tory principles, and that the nation were following her example.

The education of Henry St. John was completed at Christ Church, where probably his regard for Atterbury commenced. Their natural love of classical knowledge and admiration of Dryden brought them into very friendly association, but it was not till after the former had entered Parliament, in the year 1700, and became closely connected with Harley, that they were united by a close political alliance. The Whigs had monopolized all popular professions, and the Opposition were left to create a party with whatever principles they could advocate. They wanted "a good cry," and the Tory Court chaplain presently provided them with one of first-rate quality.

A sermon was preached before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's, in commemoration of the signal escape of the Protestants on the 5th of November. The text was "In perils among false brethren." The preacher was Dr. Atterbury's very intimate friend. He professed, first, to show in what sense, and upon what accounts, men may be denominated false brethren; secondly, to lay before his congregation the great peril and mischief of such, both in Church and

State; thirdly, to set forth the heinous malignity, and enormous guilt and folly of this prodigious sin; and, lastly, to prove what mighty reasons we have at all times, and more especially at present, to adhere firmly to the principles both of our Church and Constitution, and how much it concerns us to beware of all those false brethren that desert or betray them.

Dr. Sacheverell described "a false brother" in three divisions. He first said, "Let the Christian world be judges who best deserve the name of Churchmen, those that strictly defend and maintain the Catholic doctrine upon which the Church as a society is founded, or those who would barter her for a mongrel union of all sects." He denounced "a secret sort of reserved atheists," who pretend to be of the Church as long as anything is to be got by it; as well as another kind of false brethren, who affect perfection of piety, and another kind who are deficient in zeal. Then he dwelt on "false brethren with relation to the State," holding up certain proceedings of certain statesmen to reprobation, and styling them encouragers of impiety as well as disloyalty, while secretly favouring the introduction of Popery into the kingdom. Having shown that such "false brethren" are as destructive to our civil as to our ecclesiastical rights, he dilated, in very forcible language, on the mischief done to the community by their influence.

It must be admitted that the High Church preacher made the most of his occasion; and if he failed in causing the entire corporation to be sensible of the backslidings of theQueen's Government, it was

no fault of his. So inflammatory a discourse could not but have become the subject of conversation throughout the city. Dr. Sacheverell increased the effect he had produced by publishing his sermon, with a dedication equally defiant, addressed to Sir Samuel Garrard, Bart., then Lord Mayor. It met with a prodigious success, edition after edition being called for. The author, however, had made too public an attack to be permitted to escape with impunity. The ministers were provoked at what was regarded as a slap in the face quite as much as a condemnation. Dr. Sacheverell was prosecuted, and forced to stand a public trial.

Sir Simon Harcourt, a warm friend of Dr. Atterbury, was one of the counsel for Dr. Sacheverell. How he distinguished himself on the occasion Dr. Smalridge thus reports:—

> We had yesterday the noblest entertainment that ever audience had, from your friend Sir Simon Harcourt. He spoke with such exactness, such force, such decency, such dexterity; so neat a way of commending and reflecting, as he had occasion; such an insinuation into the passions of his auditors, as I never heard. I will not pretend to say one word; for I am sure I could say nothing without spoiling it. I will only observe to you, that throughout his whole discourse he spoke with approbation of the Revolution, allowed it to be an excepted case, and defended his client upon this ground—that he had asserted the utter illegality of resistance without excepting any cases, and proved from authority, human and divine, from our municipal laws, from our Homilies, from the testimony of the Fathers and writers of our Church, from irrefragable reasons, that it was lawful for a preacher—that it was his duty—to lay down the general rules of non-resistance, without making any exceptions; which was very different from affirming it admitted of no exceptions. His speech was universally applauded by enemies as well

as friends, and his reputation for a speaker is fixed for ever. But then the mischief was this—it was his *vox cygnea;* for he is returned, and we hear him not to-day, and shall hear him no more.*

Dr. Sacheverell's defence, known to have been written by Atterbury, created intense interest. The Doctor is made to say, in the opening of his speech, that the managers had acknowledged he was only regarded as the tool of a party, and that the avowed object of his impeachment was "to procure an eternal and indelible brand of infamy to be fixed in a parliamentary way on all those who maintained the doctrine of non-resistance, and to have the clergy directed what doctrine they ought to preach." He then exposed the unfairness with which the observations in his discourse had been treated by prejudice and animosity, and declared that he had never thought of applying his doctrine of non-resistance to the Revolution, but had expressed it in the general terms used by the Apostles. He insisted that all he had said was warranted by law as well as by the Gospel.

He denied that he had complained of favours granted to Dissenters, and avowed his opinion of them in terms of moderation. He cleared himself from the accusation of having asserted that the Church had been endangered by the acts of the Government, while he insisted, in the strongest language, on the danger of Christianity from the general diffusion of infidelity and atheism. Then he referred

* "Ballard's Letters," Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vol. VII. Nichols. Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, V., 273.

to the suggestions he had made, that the laws against papists should be enforced, justified them, and then declared his loyalty to the Queen in language that has considerable pretensions to eloquence. He averred that his college (Magdalen, Oxford) would testify to his character, as well as one of the bishops, and numerous persons who had been educated by him. He made a solemn denial of the malicious intentions attributed to him, and appealed to the sense of justice of the lords temporal and spiritual, whom he was addressing; concluding by insisting that the doctrines he had taught were in perfect consonance with the Scriptures.*

There is no doubt that Atterbury took a prominent part in this attack upon the Whig Government, assisted by Dr. William King, who published pamphlets in favour of Sacheverell, and supported his other fellow-students in bringing out a periodical that shortly distinguished itself by the fierceness of its invectives against ministers. Sacheverell, however, was condemned by the court that tried him; a result by which his prosecutors suffered a good deal more than himself.

There was much to be done with the cry of "Church in danger" before the Tory party could expect to profit by it in the manner they desired. The Sacheverell fever had to be kept up, and the Doctor was now induced to make a journey into Wales that led to frantic demonstrations of devotion to the endangered Church in every town through

* Speech of Henry Sacheverell, B.D. &c., March 7, 1709.

which he passed. There was another cry sought to be raised, of almost equal significance. It was not quite "the State in danger;" but a condition of affairs was made public which intimated that the Queen was not only not a free agent, but was subjected to a state of intolerable thraldom, which prevented her fulfilling the benevolent wishes of her heart. The sympathy of her loyal subjects was readily excited, while intense indignation was created against the faction that so usurped and controlled the royal authority.

The popular enthusiasm partook of the character of a frenzy in the eyes of the calmer lookers-on. Dr. Musgrave of Exeter, writing to Walter Moyle, an active Fellow of the Royal Society, says,—

It looks as if Sacheverell's farce, by the aid of Harley and St. John, has had the same effect on us as that tragedy [the Andromeda of Euripides] had on the people of Abdera, who, you know, were in days of yore as famous for their politics and good sense as the people of England are at present. However, there is this difference; the frenzy of Abdera vanished with the first frost—ours, it seems, is to last for two years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament; and, I am afraid, will never be thoroughly cured but *by opening the jugular vein of some persons where the infection began.**

Lord Halifax† not only aided his colleagues in the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, but strove to bring his supporters into trouble, by drawing up,

* Moyle's Posthumous Works, I.

† Lord Halifax was as notorious for his gallantry as for his wit, and having been disappointed in a design he had entertained of taking a second wife, his lordship contented himself with the handsome widow Barton, on whom he made a very liberal provision at his death, by settling upon her the Rangership and Lodge of Bushey Park, 5,000*l.*, with an annuity of 200*l.*, besides his manor of Apscourt, in Surrey.

a dozen queries called "Seasonable Questions," in which the seventh and eighth were,—

Whether the permitting Dr. Sacheverell to ride in triumph from place to place, being convicted by the High Court of Parliament, be not the greatest indignity that ever was, or can be, acted against the State? and,

Whether those persons that have aided and abetted the Doctor in his progress may not justly be accounted enemies to Her Majesty and her Government, tending only to raise commotions in the kingdom?

There was a third query, that cautiously reflected upon the High Church party,—

Whether it may not be an encouragement to the French king to throw in the Pretender upon you in the time of choosing a new Parliament; and who are most likely to come to his assistance, the moderate Churchmen and Dissenters, who acknowledge and will stand by Her Majesty's parliamentary rights, or the Highfliers and Sacheverellites, who will own no other but what is hereditary? *

Lord Somers, whose important step in his profession had been the defence of the Protestant prelates, was naturally against the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell. Dean Swift assures his readers that he heard his lordship condemn that prosecution as well as the conduct of certain of the Whig ministers to Queen Anne. †

It was about this time that Prior was again brought into close association with his old schoolfellow Francis Atterbury, who, with certain of his literary friends, had published a periodical to support the policy of Harley and St. John—then anxious to put an end to the war, and, consequently, to the Marlborough

* "Life of Charles, Earl of Halifax," 141.

† "History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne."

influence at Court. In the year 1710 *The Examiner* was started; the literary staff to support it consisting of Drs. Atterbury, King, and Freind, Messrs. Prior and Oldsworth, and Mrs. Manley, who were presently joined and directed by Dr. Swift. The principal object of the journal was to write down the ministers who had encouraged the war, of which the nation was beginning to inquire the advantage to England, as well as to complain of the cost; and the work was commenced with great vigour.

St. John was himself an early contributor to its pages. A letter from him contained the following passage :—

> Notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken to lessen her character in the world by the wits of the Kit-Kat and the sages of the cellar, mankind remains convinced that a Queen possessed of all the virtues requisite to bless a nation, or to make a private family happy, sits on the throne. By an excess of goodness she delighted to raise some of her servants to the highest degree of riches, of power, and of honour, and in this only instance can it be said to have grieved any of her subjects.
>
> The rule which she had prescribed to these persons as the measure of their conduct was soon departed from; but so unable were they to associate with men of honester principles than themselves, that the sovereign authority was parcelled out among a faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Instead of the mild influences of a gracious Queen governing by law, we soon felt the miserable consequence of subjection to the will of an arbitrary junto, and to the caprice of an insolent woman.

There can be no doubt who are referred to here—the Whig ministers were the arbitrary junto, and "the insolent woman" Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. That Queen Anne's favourite chaplain shared the

royal confidence there can be no question, but how much he had to do with putting forward Abigail, now Lady Masham, to supplant the domineering favourite, can only be left to conjecture. We continue the letter to *The Examiner* :—

Unhappy nation, which, expecting to be governed by the best, fell under the tyranny of the worst of her sex! But now, thanks be to God! that fury who broke loose to execute the vengeance of Heaven on a sinful people is restrained, and the royal hand is already reached out to chain up the plague.

Invisum numen terras cœlumque levabit.

One would expect that on the first appearance of the Queen's displeasure these little tyrants should have had recourse to submission and to resignation; but they believed the whole nation as debauched and corrupted as those profligate wretches who were in their confidence; they imagined that under the name of their Prince they should be able to govern against her declared intention; and having usurped the royal seat, resolved to venture overturning the chariot of government rather than to lose their place in it.* They set their mistress at open defiance; neither the ties of gratitude nor the bands of allegiance were any restraint to them.

Their first attempt was to take that privilege from her which the meanest of her subjects enjoy; and slavery was to pursue her even into her bedchamber. Here the nation in general took the alarm; a spirit of loyalty began to rise, which the faction foresaw would no longer bear to have the meanest submission shown to the ministers, whilst common decency was hardly used towards the throne. The conspirators resolved themselves to precipitate their measures, and *a sermon* † was made the pretence of their clamour. Those who prove themselves friends to this Government by avowing principles inconsistent with any, presumed daily to try the title of the Queen, and to limit the allegiance of the subject. The party agents of every rank were employed to declaim in public places, and we had the mortifica-

* In such a contingency how they were to keep their places does not appear. There are other rash statements in this production.

† Sacheverell's.

tion to see cabals of upstarts sit in judgment on the right and authority of the Crown, who, had it not been for the profusion of the royal favour, could have had no pretence to be common triers in any cause. By long insipid harangues and fulsome panegyric the merits of the ministers were exalted—the whole success of the administration, both at home and abroad, were singly attributed to them; and lest the Queen should think fit to declare them dangerous, she was by necessary consequences, from the positions laid down, declared herself to be useless.

The Camarilla awoke from their dreams of confidence when punished for their abuse of power. Walpole had advised a dignified surrender of office, and there presently ensued a general resignation; but in more than one instance it was accomplished with a bad grace. There were notable exceptions; but Marlborough and his colleagues had so long fostered the delusion that the country could not dispense with their services, they only by slow degrees could be made to understand that they had made a mistake. They beheld their places in the Government occupied by persons they had affected to despise, and the country going on apparently with exactly the same regularity as if the State machinery had not been altered in a single wheel.

The plans of the confederates having been successfully carried, they began to realize their political influence. St. John, in July 1712, was created Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke; but now an unhappy jealousy manifested itself between him and Harley, created Earl of Oxford, each intriguing against the other to secure the entire direction of affairs in the Queen's Councils. Their quarrel gave great concern to Atterbury as well as to other influen-

tial Tories, and proved extremely detrimental to them as a party at a very critical period; while to Walpole and his convivial friends at the Kit-Kat* it was of the greatest service. It enabled them to predict with confidence the collapse of their authority, and to take such measures as should expedite it as much as possible.

* "The Kit-Kat Club" was established about the time of the incarceration of the Protestant prelates by James II., in Shire Lane. During the reign of William and Mary it increased, and in that of Queen Anne could boast of at least forty members, all zealous friends of the Hanoverian succession, noblemen and gentlemen of high social position. Their engraved portraits are well known.

CHAPTER VI.

DEAN OF CARLISLE, CHRIST CHURCH (OXON), AND WESTMINSTER.

Archdeacon Atterbury appointed Dean of Carlisle—His Correspondence with the Bishops of Carlisle and Exeter—A fine Gentleman—Lord Stanhope's quizzical Reference to the Earl of Orrery—Letter to the Bishop of Winchester—Dean Atterbury and John Strype—Swift a Neighbour of the Dean at Chelsea—Atterbury appointed Dean of Christ Church—Swift's Letter of Congratulation—Mrs. Astell—Lay Baptism—Letters from the Dean to the Bishop of Winchester—Dr. Atterbury gives up preaching at Bridewell—Swift appointed Dean of St. Patrick's—Dean Atterbury's Congratulations—Dean Swift's Description of his Position—Dr. Atterbury appointed Dean of Westminster—His Letter of Advice to Dean Swift—Fallacies respecting his Despotic Manner—Swift's Reply—Atterbury as an Antiquary—His first Volume of Sermons.

It has been asserted, on the authority of an anonymous pamphlet, that Bishop Nicholson refused to institute Dr. Atterbury as Dean of Carlisle because he had not brought a formal resignation from his predecessor; therefore that the Doctor was detained a month at Carlisle till the paper could be procured. Then that a flaw was discovered, it having been dated a month after Atterbury's collation, which rendered it null and void. As the Bishop was obstinate, it is stated, on the same authority, that the Doctor returned to town, and fruitlessly endeavoured to have

the date altered, as well as that of its registration.*

As no trace of this story is to be found in the Atterbury Papers, it is evidently one of the many fabrications by which he was assailed at every step of his career. What did occur will now be learnt.

The Archdeacon of Totness was, in July 1704, appointed by the Queen to the deanery of Carlisle, but his diocesan contrived to delay his institution till the following month of October. In the same year a canonry at Exeter was bestowed on him by his cordial friend Bishop Trelawney.

Dr. Atterbury's elevation was not permitted by his ecclesiastical superiors without an attempt on their part to produce his humiliation, by making their sanction of it depend on his recantation of his High Church principles. How he met this movement will be seen in the communications that follow. It is scarcely possible to imagine any conduct more dignified than was his on the Bishop of Carlisle attempting to force a retractation from him, when the Doctor presented himself for institution.

DR. ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.†

Bishop's Thorp, September 4, 1704.

My Lord,

I came hither on Saturday even, and intended to have set out this morning in order to pay my duty to your lordship at Rose Castle; but am stopped by a letter of your lordship's to his Grace [of York‡], part of which his Grace hath been

* "Biographia Britannica," I., 269. Note M. "A Letter from the South by way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern Divine, giving an Account of a Strange Attempt made by Dr. A[tterbury]," &c.

† Dr. William Nicholson. ‡ Dr. John Sharp.

pleased to communicate to me. And therein I find that your lordship is firmly determined not to give me institution yourself (should I wait upon you for it) unless I do openly and freely revoke and renounce three propositions, relating to Her Majesty's supremacy, there specified; and which seem to your lordship deducible from somewhat which I have heretofore asserted and published.

My lord, there are many reasons for which I can by no means comply with this or any such proposal; and with which there is no need that I should at present trouble your lordship, especially since your lordship hath in the same letter desired his Grace that, in case I consented not to your proposal, he would please to admit me, and send his metropolitical mandate for my installation. His Grace, I find, is very ready to fulfil your lordship's desire in that respect (as I am also to take this method of being instituted) as soon as your lordship shall have made such a remission of your right and authority in this case, under your episcopal seal, as may be judged a legal and effectual warrant for his Grace's giving me institution and my receiving it.

To this end I may, I hope, be permitted to offer myself thus by letter to your lordship for institution, since your lordship hath expressed a concern to prevent the unnecessary expense of my coming fourscore miles in order only (as your lordship is pleased to speak) to be sent back by you. And, therefore, without waiting in person upon your lordship (as I was ready to have done), I will expect your lordship's pleasure here at Bishop's Thorp; hoping for such dispatch from your lordship in the matter of my institution as may enable me safely to proceed to my instalment without further delay.—I am, &c.*

Dr. Atterbury to the Bishop of Exeter.†

York, September 11, 1704.

I have been stopped a week at Bishop's Thorp, in my way to Carlisle, by a letter to the Archbishop from the Bishop of Carlisle, wherein he positively refused to institute me unless I revoked some propositions relating to the supremacy which he thought deducible from my writings. I will enclose the paper

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* Atterbury Papers. † Bishop Trelawney.

the Bishop drew up on that occasion.* At the end of it he desired the Archbishop to admit me himself, by his metropolitic authority, if I would not consent to revoke and renounce as he had prescribed.

There were some thoughts that this might be done, and that my journey to Carlisle might be saved by that means, which hath occasioned my stay here; but some forms, which are to pass the Bishop in order to it, could not be procured; so I am now setting forward myself for Carlisle to tender him my mandate; before he will receive which, and give me institution upon it, he will, I believe, be pretty troublesome to me; but it will end in more trouble to himself, for the affront is not so much to me as to Her Majesty, and will be resented accordingly. This is, I suppose, intended also as a return to the demur which the University of Oxford made on my account to the giving of the Bishop his degree. But they could demur in this case with somewhat more safety than the Bishop can.

I will give your lordship a further account of this matter when I come to Carlisle.—I am, &c.

DR. ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

Carlisle, September 21, 1704.

When I came to the Bishop at Rose Castle for institution, he withdrew the three propositions I sent you, and would not insist upon them; but, instead of them, offered me another sort of retractation to sign; a copy of which I have enclosed.†

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* "1.—The Queen of England, out of Parliament, hath not the same authority in Causes Ecclesiastical that the Christian Emperors had in the primitive Church. 2.—The Church of England is under two sovereigns; the one absolute and the other limited. 3.—The Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm, can be exercised no otherwise than in Parliament.

"These three propositions, separating Her Majesty's authority from her person, and impeaching her regal supremacy, are erroneous, and contrary to the received doctrine of the Church of England, as well as the known laws of the realm. And, therefore (as far as they, or any of them, are deducible from anything that I have heretofore asserted and published), I do hereby openly and freely revoke and renounce the same.—W. M."

† "The Church here in England is under the government, both of the *absolute* and *limited* sovereign; under the government of the limited sovereign within the compass of his prerogative; under the government of the absolute sovereign

It was a surprise to me. I desired a little time to withdraw and consider it, and pen, ink, and paper to set down my thoughts upon it, which were granted me; and in his house I soon drew up the answer, which I have also transmitted to your lordship.* Upon hearing which the Bishop grew very much out of humour, and I discovered a great deal of disorder both in his looks and discourse: he in passion demanded my orders and letters testimonial of my good life and behaviour; and said he would examine me as to my learning; and soon afterwards went back from all this, and produced a paper, ready written by his Registrar, commanding me to appear again at Rose Castle on the 12th of October, and then and there receive his answer.

Nothing could be more barbarous and unfair than the whole scene of this conduct; for, in the first place, he contrived things so that I should know nothing of his intentions to refuse me institution till I came to York; then he stopped me eight days at York under a sham pretence of desiring the Archbishop to institute me in his stead; but, when I applied for a request of that kind to the Archbishop under his episcopal seal, he would not grant it, but have me come to Rose Castle and receive institution from him; and yet, when I came thither, took advantage of the twenty-eight days allowed him by the Canon, without reckoning in those in which he himself had detained me at Bishop's Thorp. We parted, however, pretty civilly; and, I thank God, I had that command of myself that, notwithstanding his rudeness to me, I was not moved to do or say anything indecent. That night I went to Carlisle, where I have been ever since at the Deanery, expecting what they will do above in this matter, where I have lodged a full account of it. The Bishop had taken as much care as he could to have all manner of slights

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without any restraints or bounds, except what the revealed will of God, and the eternal rules of right reason prescribe. The Pope usurped not only on the King, the limited; but on the King and Parliament, the absolute sovereign; and what was to be taken from him, therefore, was not all to be thrown into the prerogative, but restored severally to its respective owners.

"I do hereby, open and freely, revoke and renounce whatever in this paragraph may reasonably seem to impeach Her Majesty's regal supremacy, inherent in her royal person; or any ways necessarily to infer a co-ordination with her in the sovereignty of this realm.—W. M."

* See at the end of this letter.

put upon me. The bells were not to ring, the choir not to attend upon me, nor the corporation to take any notice of me.

It is a little uncomfortable living here in a country where I have nobody that I can advise with, or confide in, upon points of so great moment to me; and where I have to deal with sharp and subtle heads, which oblige me to be ever upon my guard, and to tread very warily. I know not when I shall be able to return to London, being resolved to wait here the event of this matter; and have accordingly sent to put off my waiting in October.*

I thought myself bound to give your lordship some account of these my poor affairs; though it will be a good while before it comes to your hands in Cornwall. The ill-usage I have had from this gentleman makes me reflect often on the contrary treatment from your lordship; and would, if anything possibly could, raise my gratitude to your lordship for all your noble favours to me, and for the obliging manner wherein you have ever bestowed, and by that means doubled them.

DR. ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

Your lordship demands of me, that, in order to my institution to the Deanery of Carlisle, I should make the preceding retractation. In answer to your lordship's demand, I humbly reply,—

"1. That I offer to qualify myself for institution by taking all those oaths, and making all those subscriptions or declarations, which are required by any Law or Canon of this realm, or Church of England.

"2. That, in the passage cited by your lordship, I do not, after a very deliberate consideration of it, find anything asserted which, upon a fair and candid construction of the words, can reasonably seem to impeach Her Majesty's regal supremacy inherent in her royal person, or any way necessarily to infer a co-ordination with her in the sovereignty of this realm.

"3. No man living can be more ready than I am to assert Her Majesty's supremacy, in the utmost legal extent of it, upon all proper occasions; or to retract anything which

* As one of the Queen's chaplains.

may have casually fallen from my pen, and may reasonably seem to be in the least derogatory to it. But to do this in order to obtain possession of the Deanery of Carlisle, which Her Majesty has granted me under the broad seal of England, and after a manner no way that I know of prescribed either by the Canons or Laws of Church or State, would, I apprehend, on my side, be rather injurious than respectful to Her Majesty's regal supremacy and prerogative; inasmuch as it tends to introduce and establish new tests and qualifications unknown to our constitution, and which may in future times be required of all those who shall have like grants from the crown of this or any other Deanery. And, therefore, the surest mark of my regard for the Queen's regal supremacy will, I presume, be humbly (as I now do) to desire your lordship that you would, in virtue of Her Majesty's letters patent now tendered to your lordship, grant me institution to the Deanery of Carlisle without delay, and without insisting on any such retractation. Provide always your lordship have full and sufficient right to grant such institution to me, of which I cannot be supposed a competent judge; and which exception I desire may be understood, and included, in everything that I have done, or said, towards desiring institution from your lordship. And I humbly pray that the Notaries now present may draw up in form a notarial act of this your lordship's demand and my humble reply.

FR. ATTERBURY.

Rose Castle, September 15, 1704."

"Test. Joh. Nicolson, Not. Pub.
G. Longstaffe, Not. Pub."

Conspicuous among the fine gentlemen of the time was Robert Fielding, described as of Fielding Hall, Warwickshire, the "Orlando the Fair" of Sir Richard Steele—the Beau Fielding of every one else—"the first and most renowned" of good-looking fellows—"that eminent hero and lover Orlando the handsome"—the lady-killer, *par excellence*, in an age of

gallantry, who first flourished in that appropriate epoch, the reign of the Merry Monarch, and having won his way to distinction among the dispensers of fame in an exceptional reign, strove to gain a more masculine reputation by raising a regiment of Warwickshire lads, to which he was appointed Colonel, when the still more exceptional reign of his successor had ended in his flight from the kingdom.

Dean Atterbury, as well as his literary friends, knew the Jacobite Colonel before, like the hero of "Hudibras," he went "a colonelling." Every one was acquainted with the fashionable figure that drew the eyes of all admirers of elegance in the Mall, in St. James's Park, or the promenade from Storey's Gate to Rosamond's Pond; but to no one was it more familiar than to the contemporary man of fashion and wit about town, who had frequented the same coffee-houses, the same playhouses—in short, the same haunts of every kind. He wrote in August, 1709,—

> Ten lustra and more are wholly past since Orlando first appeared in the metropolis of this island; his descent noble, his wit humorous, his person charming. But to none of these recommendatory advantages was his title so undoubted as that of his beauty. His complexion was fair, but his countenance manly, his stature of the tallest, his shape the most exact, and though in all his limbs he had a proportion as delicate as we see in the works of the most skilful statuaries, his body had a strength and firmness little inferior to the marble of which such images are formed.

The inordinate vanity of this man, of which the reader has already one illustration, fed by his successes among women too easily won, appears to have affected his brain, and caused him to indulge in

extravagances that brought on him no small share of ridicule; nevertheless the Beau paraded his perfections in public with the most ostentatious equipage and dress. At home he affected as much state as in public. This Steele thus amusingly exaggerates:—He "called for tea by beat of drum, his valet got ready to shave him by a trumpet to horse, and water was brought for his teeth when the sound was changed to boot and saddle."

He fancied himself a general officer, and as such wrote to Dean Atterbury, who enclosed the communication to his friend Lord Stanhope. His lordship replied, Dec. 27, 1705,—

Mr. Dean,

I had a letter from you this day, and a very diverting one enclosed in it from a mad imaginary general, who is so happy as to be fond of that which my father and all the world beside himself were weary of long ago.*

The writer alludes to Lady Castlemaine, the warm patroness of the handsome Churchill, as well as the handsome Fielding. A marked difference attended the future of her favourites; the first being the most illustrious, most influential man at Court—the all powerful Marlborough; the other, choosing to marry his paramour, now Duchess of Cleveland, though already a Benedick, became disgraced and impoverished.

While holding his new preferment, Dr. Atterbury's friend, Lord Stanhope, wrote (Oct. 1, 1705) the following amusing reference to the Dean's ungrateful pupil:—

Really, Mr. Dean, I would write a play to divert myself, and pass away time, but that I am at such a distance from the Earl

* Atterbury Papers.

of Orrery, that I cannot in conscience ask his lordship's assistance.* Since I cannot hear, I would willingly court the ladies in a new fashion, by writing love verses to them; but that you know very well that the author of "Boyle against Bentley" long ago refused me his assistance. which I believe is what the modern Wotton or the learned Wake† could never have haggled at.

They became reconciled; indeed, Lord Orrery adopted his old tutor's political opinions.

The Dean of Carlisle preached before the Queen, October 1, 1705, and subsequently printed his sermon. On sending a copy to his cordial friend, Lord Stanhope, his lordship, while expressing his acknowledgments, does not forget to indulge in some sharp comments on Lord Orrery. "I am convinced," he writes, "by the reading of it, that you had no assistance in your dull sermon from the Earl of Orrery, any more than he had from you in the witty play he writ." Lord Stanhope rarely communicates with his friend without similar allusions to the Earl.

Among the Dean's supporters in the Anglican hierarchy there remained faithful to his interest Sir Jonathan Trelawney, translated from Exeter to the wealthiest of English bishopricks, June 14, 1707. It appears that the Doctor had been promised another deanery.

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

[No Date].

I had received the same intelligence, that the Dean,‡ on Monday, in the afternoon, began to be much better, and was going this moment to send your lordship word of it. God knows, I am far from being fond of that deanery. But it hath

* Two years before he had brought out a comedy entitled "As You Find It."

† Archbishop of Canterbury.

‡ Probably Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church.

been promised me ever since I was Dean of Carlisle; and, had it fallen, I should have thought it proper to put the Lord Treasurer * in mind of that promise, which was made me without my asking it. Indeed, I never asked anything of his lordship personally but a canonry of Christ Church, which he readily assured me of. But the deanery of Carlisle being given me, I acquiesced in it, and never since troubled my Lord Treasurer, or anybody else, with the least request. I will wait upon your lordship some time before evening prayers to-day, in order to receive your commands.

As we have shown, Atterbury loved to associate with men of letters, and enjoyed pleasant colloquies with the brightest and best of them in their favourite places of resort. He was as well known at Tom's or Button's as Steele or Pope; possibly had ventured to the Chocolate House with his brother parsons, Swift and Parnell, or enjoyed a dinner at one or other of the fashionable taverns with St. John and Congreve; but the claims of the hard-working author were always readily recognized by him, and to no one did he show more regard than to that industrious historical collector John Strype, with whom he lived in very friendly communication. He also was a brother clergyman, and preached at St. Augustine's, Hackney, for many years.† The only letters from Atterbury to him that have been preserved are the following:—

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE TO THE REV. JOHN STRYPE.

Chelsea, Wednesday Night, Jan., 1709-10.

In your "Annals of the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth," p. 279, I find a passage out of a sermon preached before the House of Commons; the preacher of which says, that he had once in his hand an original Journal of the Lower House of

* Sidney Lord Godolphin.

† He died in that parish in December 13, 1737, at the age of 94.

Convocation, in the fifth year of the Queen. I should be glad to know what this sermon was, when preached, and by whom, and whether you can allow me a sight of it? If you can, please to let me know by the penny post, directing to Chelsea, and you will much oblige, &c.

I beg also to know of you whether the omitted articles in your appendix are intended to be printed; because I have been told that you had such a design.*

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE TO THE REV. JOHN STRYPE.

Chelsea, Friday Noon, March 25, 1710.

You will be pleased to put me down for a subscriber to the "History of Archbishop Grindall." I am sorry you do not think yourself at liberty to let me know in whose hands that Lower House Journal of 1562 was supposed to be lodged. Upon a review of your account of Convocation matters in that year, I find various particulars which are not to be justified by the extracts and other MSS. relating to that year now in my hands; and therefore I should think you had recourse to some other authorities for those particulars, which I should be glad to be acquainted with. Of those things I would fain discourse you for half an hour when you come to town; but am going on Monday to Benet College, Cambridge, to view the MSS. there, and shall not return from thence till toward the end of the week, if so soon: after that, upon notice of your coming to town, and at what time and place you will be found, I should be glad to wait upon you, and am, &c.†

Swift renewed his intimacy with Atterbury in the spring of 1711, after the Dean had taken up his residence in Church Lane, Chelsea. He lodged opposite Atterbury's house, and Mrs. Atterbury, learning who was her neighbour, showed the stranger kindly attentions, which were not lost upon him, as may be seen in the entries of his Journal to Stella. "I crossed the way to see Mrs. Atterbury and thank her for her civilities. She would needs send me some

* Atterbury Papers. † *Ibid.*

veal and small beer and ale to-day at dinner." He records the visit of Dr. Freind, the physician to the Atterburys, who obligingly took him to town in his chariot; then his sitting with the Prolocutor, "my neighbour over the way," whom he is thenceforward constantly visiting. He also dined with him at Prior's, and his obliging neighbour sends his carriage to bring him to Chelsea when he stays late in town. He constantly accepts dinner invitations from the Dean of Carlisle, and very pleasant company he met there. The hospitable Dean also took him excursions that appear to have been equally well appreciated:—

July 5.—I walked to Chelsea, and was there by nine this morning, and the Dean of Carlisle and I crossed the water to Battersea, and went in his chariot to Greenwich, where we dined at Dr. Gastrell's, and passed the afternoon at Lewisham at the Dean of Canterbury's, and there I saw Moll Stanhope, who is grown monstrously tall, but not so handsome as formerly. It is the first little rambling journey I have had this summer about London; and they are the agreeablest pastimes one can have, in a friend's coach and good company.

The entries respecting similar social gratifications follow each other, after only brief intervals. Atterbury and Swift were kindred spirits, and with Prior, Dr. Freind, the Head Master of Westminster, Dr. William King, and other equally convivial and equally accomplished minds, Swift lived a life of thorough enjoyment. A little later we learn from the Journal:—

I walked to-day to Chelsea, and dined with the Dean of Carlisle, who is laid up with the gout. It is now fixed that he is to be Dean of Christ Church in Oxford. I was advising him to use his interest to prevent any misunderstanding between our ministers, but he is too wise to meddle, though he fears the thing

and the consequences as much as I. He will get into his own quiet deanery, and leave them to themselves—and he is in the right.

The promised deanery of his old college was given to Dr. Atterbury, and on the 1st of September his frequent guest wrote him the following letter of congratulation:—

DR. SWIFT TO DEAN ATTERBURY.

Sir,

I congratulate with the college, the university, and the kingdom, and condole with myself upon your new dignity. The virtue I would affect by putting my own interests out of the case, has failed me in this juncture. I only consider that I shall want your conversation, your friendship, your protection, and your good offices, when I can least spare them. I would have come among the crowd of those who make you compliments on this occasion, if I could have brought a cheerful countenance with me. I am full of envy. It is too much in so bad an age for a person so inclined and so able to do good, to have so great a scene of showing his inclinations and abilities. If great ministers take up this exploded custom of rewarding merit, I must retire to Ireland and wait for better times. The college and you ought to pray for another change at Court, otherwise I can easily foretell that their joy and your quiet will be short. Let me advise you to place your books in movable cases, lay in no great stock of wine, nor make any great alterations in your lodgings at Christ Church, unless you are sure they are such as your successor will approve and pay for. I am afraid the poor college little thinks of this.

It will presently be seen that the prophecy here expressed was fulfilled; but if it was a gratification to Atterbury to become the head of his own college, it was no less so to his fellow-collegians, among whom we find one rejoicing, whose cordiality on the occasion we had scarcely looked for.

Under the date March 13th, 1712, in the Journal to Stella, there is an entry that the writer's friend

carried him from Chelsea to town, he being "engaged to Lord Orrery with some other Christ Church men," —they had long since admitted Swift of their fraternity. "The feast of reason and the flow of soul" at this meeting may be imagined more readily than described.

Among Dean Atterbury's neighbours at Chelsea was Mrs. Astell, a lady who had made considerable progress in various branches of study. She was pious as well as learned, and to her classical and philosophical reading had added no small amount of theology. This seems to have made her not only pedantic, but a great advocate of what more recently has been styled "the rights of women." With this idea she proposed an institution for female education, which might have been carried into effect, but for the remonstrances of Dr. Burnet, who looked upon it as a nunnery. Then the lady wrote several books about marriage, and more than one on religion, remarkable for the boldness of the thoughts expressed.

Her life was evangelical, notwithstanding that her opinions were sometimes anything but feminine; as the Dean represents them in the following letter to his friend Smalridge, in the year 1706:—

Dear George,

I happened about a fortnight ago to dine with Mrs. Astell. She spoke to me of my sermon,* and desired me to print it; and after I had given her the proper answers, hinted to me that she would be glad of perusing it. I complied with her [request] and sent her the sermon next day. Yesternight she returned it, with this sheet of her remarks, which I cannot forbear communicating to you, because I take them to be of an extraordinary

* On the election of the Lord Mayor, 1706.

nature, considering they come from the pen of a woman. Indeed, one would not imagine a woman had written them. There is not an expression that carries the least air of her sex from the beginning to the end of it. She attacks me very home, you see, and artfully enough, and under pretence of taking my part against other divines, who are in Hoadly's measures. Had she as much good breeding as good sense, she would be perfect; but she has not the most decent manner of insinuating what she means, but is now and then a little offensive and shocking in her expressions—which I wonder at, because a civil turn of words, even where the matter is not pleasing, is what her sex is always mistress of. She, I think, is wanting in it, but her sensible and natural way of writing makes amends for that defect, if indeed anything can make amends for it. I dread to engage her: so I may write a general civil answer to her, and leave the rest to an oral conference. Her way of solving the difficulty about swearing to the Queen, is somewhat singular.

It was far from being the lady's only singularity. Though the Dean prudently kept out of a disputation, he maintained a friendly understanding with her. Lord Stanhope banters his friend with having assisted her in her literary labours, in December 17th of the same year, in which there is the following reference to one of the lady's productions, recently published:*—

"I must now quarrel with you, Mr. Dean of Carlisle, because I am informed this day that you have put out in print a mighty ingenious pamphlet, but that you have been pleased to father it upon one Mrs. Astell, a female friend and witty companion of your wife's."†

The work was the last of her compositions, and certainly the most independent. It attacks Locke's

* The Christian Religion as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England.
† Nichols: Epistolary Correspondence, II., 33.

masterly "Reasonableness of Christianity," as well as Tillotson's Sermon upon the Eternity of Hell. The authoress had previously made a similar assault upon a discourse Dr. White Kennet had preached, and a little before had ventured upon a general attack upon Nonconformists. In truth, as a controversialist, she placed herself at the head of her sex.*

Dr. Smalridge was also expected to receive the vacant deanery of Christ Church; indeed, Swift in his Journal avers that the College preferred him. Subsequently Stella is told—"They still keep my neighbour Atterbury in suspense about the deanery of Christ Church, which has been above six months vacant, and he is heartily angry." † There is not better evidence of Atterbury's anger than of the preference of the College for his competitor. It is a mistake, probably a wilful one. There existed no such preference. Both possessed strong recommendations for the office. The bantering humour of Swift is prominently displayed in another entry.

January 6th, 1710–11.—I was this morning to visit the Dean, or Mr. Prolocutor I think you call him—do not you? Why should I not go to the Dean's as well as you? A little black man of pretty near fifty? Ay, the same. A good pleasant man? Ay, the same. Cunning enough? Yes. One that understands his own interest, as well as anybody. How comes it M. D. and I do not meet there sometimes? A very good face and abundance of wit. Do you know his lady? O Lord, whom do you mean? I mean Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle and Prolocutor. Pshaw, Gresham,‡ you are a fool! I thought you had meant our Dean of St. Patrick's.§

* In the last years of her life, Mrs. Astell suffered from cancer, for which she submitted to amputation without relief; then, knowing her end was approaching, she caused her coffin to be placed in her bedroom, and would not see any of her friends. She died at Chelsea, 11th of May, 1731. See Ballard, Biographia Britannica, &c.

† Scott's Swift, II., 138. ‡ Swift. § Atterbury Papers.

The regard Dr. Atterbury felt for his friend Bishop Trelawney he thus expressed:—

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Chelsea, Tuesday Morning, June 26, 1711.

I return my humble thanks to your lordship for the venison, but more for your lordship's kind intentions of seeing me at my house. I beg your lordship to believe that I am, and ever will be, while I live, the same faithful and grateful servant to your lordship that I was at the time when you conferred the greatest favours upon me. Those early obligations, my lord, can never be forgotten by me; and, if Providence shall dispose of me so as to put it any ways in my power to return them to your lordship or your family, I shall look upon that as one of the most pleasing circumstances of my preferment.

Thus I desire your lordship always to think of me; for thus you shall always find me disposed. Whatever misunderstandings there may be between me and any of those who are about your lordship, they shall not in the least affect the entire respect and gratitude, with which I am, &c.*

When Atterbury was assured of his election to Christ Church, he wrote [Sep. 6, 1711] to his friend the Bishop of Winchester for a brace of bucks, for his installation banquet, stating that he was sure such a present could not be so welcome to the College coming from any one else, nor would any subject's health be drunk with more respect on that day.†

The Dean was now the acknowledged leader of the High Church party, in Convocation and out of it. At Court he had cultivated a close intimacy with the Queen's new favourite, and the bestowal of the deanery of Christ Church in September, 1711, indicated the favour with which he was regarded by Her Majesty. Controversy was still going on between

* Atterbury Papers. † *Ibid.*

the two parties in the Church; what share he took in one of the most important of them, he shall himself state:—

DEAN ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

May 9, 1712.

I was assured by your lordship's servant that you did not stir out all this morning, else I had come early enough to have delivered this paper to your lordship myself. Your lordship was just gone out when I came. I am heartily glad your lordship will be away during this whole transaction,* which, I dare say, will not end to the honour or advantage of those who so eagerly pursue it. It will be looked upon by wise and good men as a stroke levelled at the present constitution of the Church of England, and as a cordial intended to keep up the Dissenters' spirits under their late mortifications. This your lordship will find to be the unanimous sense of the gentry and laity that are firmly in the interest of the Church of England; and therefore I cannot but repeat what I have said, that it is a great satisfaction to me to find that your lordship will be away while this thing is in agitation.

I have sent to Christ Church to desire Mr. Alsop (as the senior divine of the students now resident) to assist me at the election, and expect him up accordingly the latter end of next week.†

A competition for a college prize elicits from the Dean the following curious particulars:—

DEAN ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Christ Church, Oxford, November 20, 1712.

These are the three copies of verses which carried the three prizes of poetry. They are the best that Christ Church can afford at present from the undergraduates. By Doctor Freind's assistance, I hope we shall be able every day to do better. Your lordship's concern for us makes me think that the sight of them may not be unacceptable to you. The three prizes fell upon a

* A dispute between the two Houses of Convocation, concerning the validity of Lay Baptism.

† Atterbury Papers. Nichols: Epistolary Correspondence.

Westminster student, a canoner, and a commoner. But the commoner, Le Hunt, was some time at Westminster, and was there acquainted with Mr. Charles Trelawney, for which reason I suppose he has made your lordship the subject of some part of his verses. Prescott has done the same thing; led to it by an eager desire, which he has in common with the rest of this body, to take all occasions of paying all manner of respect to your lordship.*

In the communication here given, the writer furnishes several interesting particulars respecting his College:—

DEAN ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Christ Church, Oxford, December 30, 1712.

I am, as I have been all my life, extremely obliged to your lordship for your repeated favours. This day your warrant for a doe was obeyed in the chaces of Witney; and on Thursday, by God's blessing, I will treat the common room with it, and remember the founder with that respect which is due to him from me and from every member of this body. May the year, which begins with your bounty, be happy, not to us only who partake of it, but to your lordship and to all your family.

Doctor Radcliffe's noble design for enlarging the Bodley library goes on. The intended scheme is, to build out from the middle window of the Selden part, a room of ninety feet long, and as high as the Selden part is; and under it to build a library for Exeter College, upon whose ground it must stand. Exeter College has consented upon condition that not only a library be built for them, but some lodgings also, which must be pulled down to make room for this new design to be rebuilt. The University thinks of furnishing that part of the charge, and Doctor Radcliffe has readily proffered to furnish the rest; and withal, after he has perfected the building, to give £100 for ever to furnish it with books.

Here, at Christ Church, I have built an handsome repository for Dean Aldrich's books; having set up a new gallery for that purpose at the farther end of our library, which runs across it,

* Atterbury Papers.

and returns about twenty-five feet on each side, and will completely hold the noble legacy he left us, and show it to the greatest advantage.

I cannot help giving your lordship these accounts, because I know your lordship takes part in every instance of good fortune which befals either the University or Christ Church.

I had some intimation from Mr. Alsop of what your lordship was pleased to desire in relation to Mr. Charles Trelawney.* Your lordship may depend upon it that he shall be accommodated to all manner of advantage when he comes hither; and that there is nothing in my power to give him, or to procure for him, but your lordship shall command it as readily as if it were in your own disposal.

I leave this place on Monday next in order to attend the convocation, where, I hear, we shall set out warmly; the attack being to be renewed about the validity of lay baptism at our first sitting down, and the archbishop's friends being ordered to appear there in full numbers. The credit that Mr. Bingham has done the cause, by appearing in it, gives them hopes of success.†

The profound interest the Dean took in opposing the lax clerical literature of his time may be seen in the following note:—

DEAN ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Chelsea, February 10, 1712-13.

I have received two letters, for which I am to thank your lordship, and will thank your lordship as long as I live. For though I have received many kind ones from your lordship, and particularly two (never by me to be forgotten), wherein your lordship was pleased to bestow the Archdeaconry of Totness and the Canonry of Exeter upon me, yet permit me to say, my lord, that even those were not more welcome than the two last which you were pleased to send me, and in which your lordship has drawn a lively picture of that zeal for the true faith of Christ, and for the dignity and honour of the priesthood, which are, and ever have been, a distinguishing part of your lordship's character.

* Second son of the Bishop. † Atterbury Papers.

I entirely agree to all your lordship says in the former part of your letter, with respect to the blasphemies of Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke (for I cannot give the tenets even of the latter a softer name); and wish with all my soul it were as much in my power, as it is in my inclination, to procure anything to be done (either in or out of convocation) that might effectually check and discourage them.

But your lordship well knows the present sad situation of things. In convocation we are told that we have no jurisdiction, nor can we be persuaded, by the opinions of eight of the twelve judges, and of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, that we have any. The Upper House look upon themselves to have taken a large step in censuring Mr. Whiston's opinions, and will not be induced to go further—to be sure not to bring Dr. Clarke's book under the same condemnation.

Out of convocation the thoughts of those who alone can restore the usefulness and dignity of such assemblies, are so much taken up with schemes of peace as not to be at liberty to mind our concerns; so that, for aught I can see, we must be contented to wait for another opportunity; and in the meantime, the free-thinkers must go on to do their pleasure. And indeed, my lord, they see their opportunity; and, not knowing how long it may last, are resolved to make use of it to the utmost. Your lordship has, I suppose, seen the book in defence of free-thinking;* one of the boldest attempts that was ever suffered in a Christian nation. There is now in the press another book, which, if I might guess right of it from the title, is still of more pernicious consequence. It runs in these words: "A New Gospel Discovered, or Jewish and Mahometan Christianity; being an Account of the Ancient Gospel of Barnabas and the Modern Gospel of the Mahometans, which last is now first made known among Christians," &c. The book is written by Toland; and I now transcribe these words out of the MS. title-page of it, which he sent in his own hand to the press, and which I have at this moment in mine.

Your lordship seems thoroughly sensible of the ill consequences that would attend our determination of the point relating to the validity or invalidity of lay baptism. Either way

* By Anthony Collins.

we should do great mischief; and therefore my utmost endeavours were bent last year towards preventing any decision; and I hope I have prevented it this year also. For though I am very well assured that there was about six weeks ago a design to bring on that point at the very entrance of our session, yet the alarm that has been given on this head to the distant clergy, and the appearance there will probably be when we meet, has, I am told, dashed the design, so that we shall hear no more of it, as I pray God we may not.

I have an hearty regard for Mr. Bingham, and (you may remember, my lord) was the first man who recommended him to your lordship. But he is certainly in the wrong to suggest that there was ever any design in the Lower House of Convocation to declare the invalidity of lay baptism. All our aim (I am sure all my aim) was to declare nothing at all concerning it; and in that opinion I am still fixed, and pleased to find that I have your lordship's concurrence. But I forbear to trouble your lordship any farther on these heads, and live in hopes of waiting upon you here in a little time at Chelsea. Mr. Charles Trelawney came out hither on Saturday last with the Dean of Exeter, and spent his time at the great house (where I saw him) till Monday. Your lordship will find him grown very much; and I am told by good hands that he is grown as much in his inside as his outside. He acted a part last week in the play of "Ignoramus" extremely well, as those who were eye-witnesses of it assure me. I had the ill luck not to know of the thing till the day afterwards, and so was not myself one of his spectators and auditors, but five hundred others were, and many of them people of very good quality.

I long to hear that the Colonel has begged your lordship's blessing in England.*

The evil of false teaching continued, but the Dean's ecclesiastical zeal increased.

DEAN ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Chelsea, February 24, 1712–13.

On Saturday, the moment after I received your lordship's, I

* Atterbury Papers.

wrote to Mr. Whalley in the most pressing manner I could, about the affair your lordship mentioned, without giving him the least hint from whence I received the account of it. Your lordship may depend upon it that I will give no manner of countenance to any such discourses as those, nor to the men that use them. They are perfectly opposite to my principles, to my practice, and to my very inclinations, and therefore I will not suffer any one who acts under me to draw infamy upon me by language of that kind, to which I shall be thought consenting if I do not resent it. Nor can I say the reflection would be at all unjust; and therefore return your lordship my humble thanks for giving me an opportunity of doing myself right on this head. As to the other part of your lordship's letter, nobody can be more sensible than I am of the blasphemous liberties now taken by profligate writers without fear, because without controul, and of the contempt which by that means the convocation is brought under, while they sit still and do nothing to oppose this torrent of irreligion; though that be their proper business and the peculiar reason for which their assemblies now are kept up in time of Parliament. I dread the consequences of such open attacks made on the Christian religion, which are indeed somewhat more daring than they have been; but that is no wonder, since nothing has been in good earnest done to repress them for four-and-twenty years past, which is the true era of their birth; and men, who have had the experience of so long an impunity, will be sure (as they visibly do) to grow every day bolder and bolder. And what remedy, my lord, can be hoped for? The two prelates your lordship mentions, who should stand in the gap, are both of them much decayed in their understandings, and have lost all spirit and firmness of mind; so that the friends even of the youngest of the two think it by all means necessary that he should not appear in town this session, and though he is pressed in the most earnest manner by his superiors, yet it is questioned whether he will come; and if he does come, it is to me no question but that his being here will be insignificant to those excellent purposes your lordship mentions; so that the clergy, my lord, are headless and heartless—"sheep without a shepherd." But of this I would I had an opportunity of discoursing your lordship more largely, which yet I am told I shall not have till the end of March, if so soon.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells * has excused himself from coming up, even though he be appointed to preach one of the Lent Sermons. It is said that the Parliament will not sit, even on the 3rd of March, but that there will still be another short adjournment.

I had written to your lordship on Saturday, but that I spent the evening in seeing "Phormio" acted at the College Chamber; where in good truth, my lord, Mr. Charles Trelawney played Antipho extremely well, and some parts of the character he performed admirably. Your lordship may depend upon it that, in what place soever he stands, he shall go first of the election to Oxford, and shall have all the assistances and advantages there that is possible for a Dean of Christ Church to give him.†

The estimation in which the accomplished preacher was held by the governors of the charities he so ably served, was shown after he had been appointed preacher of the Rolls Chapel; for it was ordered by a minute dated as far back as the 9th of December, 1698, that he find a substitute for the morning and preach only at the afternoon service. Dr. Atterbury remained on the most friendly terms with all the officers connected with these noble institutions. He drew up a new charge to be presented to each of the governors on his election, as well as a form of instructions for the apprentices, which they acknowledged with a vote of thanks. Mutually with great regret, the engagement that had connected them so long they permitted to terminate. The following letter they read at a court holden on the 19th of June, 1713, under the presidency of Alderman Sir William Withers, who subsequently testified his regard by

* Dr. George Hooper.

† Atterbury Papers.

placing Dr. Atterbury and his friend Dr. Swift on the list of governors:—

DR. ATTERBURY TO SIR WILLIAM WITHERS, KT.*

Chelsea, June 15, 1713.

Sir,

I have kept my station at Bridewell thus long with an intention to take leave of the governors when assembled in a body; being very desirous of paying that respect to them after the civilities I had received from them for twenty years together. But it has so happened that I am obliged to quit the place a month or six weeks sooner than I thought to have done, and without being certain that I shall have a proper opportunity of addressing myself to them from the pulpit on this occasion; I beg you therefore, sir, to intimate my resignation to them at the next court, and to assure them that I have a very grateful sense of the kindness with which I have been all along treated by them; and that I shall, to the best of my power, always show myself a friend to the Hospital, and am, &c.†

Lord Stanhope, before he succeeded to the earldom, 1713, as an old Westminster was sure to be on friendly terms with "Mister Dean," to whom he forwarded venison and wrote assurances of affection. He expressed admiration of his correspondent's poetical and epistolary talent, but to his proposal to advance the education of his heir, replied, "I am very much obliged to you for the service you offer to do me at St. James's, but in that undertaking I do really think you will only lose your time to no purpose; for I expect nothing from the gentleman that is there, but to see him bred up an ignorant worthless amorous fop."

This refers to the celebrated Lord Chesterfield of

* President of Bridewell and Bethlehem, London. † Atterbury Papers.

a later generation, diplomatist, statesman, man of letters, and oracle of the graces.

Chelsea had become a favourite rural retreat. Swift writes in his Journal to Stella, "We dined at a country house near Chelsea, where Mr. Addison often retires." Many other distinguished characters did the same thing. Swift left his residence there, where much of his Journal to Stella was written, on the 5th of July, 1711; but the place had attractions which made him frequently walk the whole distance from town. Arbuthnot resided there as well as Atterbury. So also did Walpole, who proved anything but a desirable neighbour.

Swift at last contrived to obtain an acknowledgment of his merits from the Government, and was preferred to the Deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where the smallness of his congregation induced him to risk a well-known change in the service. His brother dean promptly forwarded his congratulations.

DEAN ATTERBURY TO DEAN SWIFT.

Chelsea, Tuesday Morning, April 21, 1713.

Mr. Dean,

Give me leave to tell you that there is no man in England more pleased with your being preferred than I am. I would have told you so myself at your lodgings, but that my waiting* confines me. I had heard a flying report of it before; but Lord Bolingbroke yesterday confirmed the welcome news to me. I could not excuse myself without saying thus much; and I have not time to say more, but that I am, &c.

The Dean of Christ Church was selected to succeed Dr. Sprat as Dean of Westminster and Bishop of

* As Chaplain to the Queen. Atterbury Papers.

Rochester. On the 16th of June, 1713, he was installed as the Dean, and consecrated Bishop on the 5th of the following month, to the great gratification of his numerous friends at Court, among whom the Queen was not the least cordial. The new dean went into residence at Westminster, where he devoted himself to the duties of his office as head of the Chapter—a body that was not always easy to govern. His interest with Lord Oxford, as well as with Queen Anne, made him look for higher elevation.

What the Irish dean's real position was he presently permitted his friend to know.

DEAN SWIFT TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Dublin, March 24, 1715–16.

My Lord,

As much as your lordship's thoughts and time are employed at present, you must give me leave to interrupt them, and, which is worse, for a trifle; though, by the accidents of time and party, of some consequence and great vexation to me. I am here at the head of three-and-twenty dignitaries and prebendaries; whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the Chapter-house, and a ringleader among them hath presumed to debate my power of proposing, and my negative; though it is what the Deans of this Cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what hath never been once disputed. Our constitution was taken from that of Sarum, and the knowledge of what is practised there in the like case would be of great use to me. I have written this post to Doctor Younger,* to desire he would inform me in this matter; but, having only a slender acquaintance with him, I would beg your lordship to second my request that the Dean would please to let me know the practice of his Cathedral, and his power in this point. I would likewise desire your lordship to let me know how it is at Westminster and the two other Deaneries you had, and in any other Cathedrals with whose customs you may be acquainted.

* Dean of Salisbury.

Pray, my lord, pardon this idle request from one that loves and esteems you, as you know I do. I once thought it would never be my misfortune to entertain you at so scurvy a rate—at least not at so great a distance, or with so much constraint:—

"Sis felix, nostrumque leves (I do not like *quicunque*) laborem:
Et quo sub cœlo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
Jactemur, doceas."

The greatest felicity I now have is, that I am utterly ignorant of the most public events that happen in the world; but

"Multa gemens ignominiam, plagasque," etc.

I am, &c.*

To the appeal of his brother dean he replied:—

April 6, 1716.

His [Dr. Younger's] deanery is of the old foundation, and in all such foundations the deans have no extraordinary power or privilege, and are nothing more than residentiaries, with a peculiar corps belonging to them as deans—the first of the chapter, but such whose presence is not necessary towards the despatch of one capitular act, the senior residentiary supplying their absence in every case, with full authority. Thus, I say, the case generally is in the old deaneries, unless where the local statutes may have expressly reserved some peculiar power or privilege to the deans of those churches. But none of them, I dare say, have a negative, either by common law, custom, or local statute. Thus much to show you that a nice search into the peculiar rights of the Dean of Sarum will be needless, if not mischievous to you.

The three deaneries which I have had are all of the new foundation by Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth. In the charters of all there is a clause, empowering the dean to make, punish, and unmake all the officers. In the statutes of one of them (Carlisle), the dean's consent in all the *graviores causæ* is made expressly necessary; and in the other two [Christ Church College, Oxford, and Westminster] nothing from the foundation of those churches ever passed the seal without the dean's *sigilletur* first written on the lease, patent presentation, &c., which is a manifest and uncontested proof of his negative. As

* Atterbury Papers. Scott's Swift.

to the power of proposing, that I apprehend not to be exclusive to the other members of chapters. It is a point chiefly of decency and convenience, the dean being the principal person, and supposed best to be acquainted with the affairs of the church, and in what order they are fittest to be transacted. But if any one else of the body will propose anything, and the rest of the chapter will debate it, I see not how the dean can hinder them, unless it be by leaving the chapter; and that itself will be of no moment in churches where his absence doth not break up and dissolve the chapter: as it does where his consent to anything there treated of is expressly required before it can pass into an act. Where indeed he is allowed such a negative, he is generally allowed to make all proposals; because it would be to no purpose for any one to make a proposition which he can quash by a dissent: but this is not, I say, a matter of right, but prudence.

Upon the whole, the best advice I can give you is, whatever your powers are by statute or usage, *not to insist on them too strictly* in either of the cases mentioned by you, unless you are very sure of the favour and countenance of your visitor. The lawyers you will find, whenever such points come before them for a decision, are very apt to disrespect statutes and custom in such cases, and to say that their books make the act of the majority of the corporation the legal act of the body, without considering whether the dean be among the minority or no. And therefore your utmost dexterity and address will be necessary in order to prevent such a trial of your right at common law, which, it is ten to one (especially as things now stand) will go against you.

If the refractory part of your chapter are stout, and men of any sense, or supported underhand (the last of these is highly probable), you had better make use of expedients to decline the difficulty, than bring it at present to a decision. These are the best lights and this the best advice I can give you, after a long experience of the several consequences of such struggles, and a careful search into the foundation of the powers and privileges claimed and disputed on the one side and the other. I wish I could say anything more to your satisfaction, but I cannot; and I think in all cases the best instance I can give you of my friendship, is not to deceive you.

There is a statute in the latter year of King Henry VIII.'s

reign [XXXIII. c. 27] worthy of your perusal. The title of it relates to the leases of hospitals, &c., and the tenour of it did, in my apprehension, seem always to imply, that without the dean, master, &c., nothing could be legally done by the corporation. But the lawyers will not allow this to be good doctrine, and say that statute (notwithstanding a constant phrase of it) determines nothing of this kind, and at the most implies it only as to such deaneries, &c., where the dean, master, &c., have a right of a negative by statute or usage. And few lawyers there are who will allow even this much. I cannot explain myself further on that head, but when you peruse the statute, you will see what I mean; though after all it does not, I believe, include Ireland.' However, I look upon it as a declaration of the common law here in England.

I am sorry you have any occasion to write to me on these heads, and much sorrier that I am not able to give you any tolerable account of them. *God forgive those who have furnished me with this knowledge*, by involving me designedly into those squabbles. I thank God I have forgiven them.

I will enter into nothing but the inquiries of your letter; and therefore add not a single word, either in English or Latin, but that I am, &c.*

That Atterbury had an uneasy time of it, with certain troublesome members of the corporations of which he was the chief, there can be no doubt; and it is not at all improbable that some quarrelsome subordinates were secretly favoured, as he intimates, by his ecclesiastical superior; but there is no authority for the statement put forward respecting his "impetuous and despotic manner."†

* Atterbury Papers. Nichols. Epistolary Correspondence, I., 30.

† These opinions clearly emanate from prejudiced or ignorant sources, but neither Stackhouse nor Warton are trustworthy when referring to Atterbury, for nothing is more evident than their eagerness to seize upon any hearsay that could be made to tell against his well-established reputation for amiability. About as reliable is the anecdote that Dr. Smalridge is said to have lamented his hard fate in being forced to carry water after him, to extinguish the flames which his litigiousness had everywhere occasioned.

The spirit of moderation breathes in every line of his counsel to his brother dean, whose government had been vexed in a similar manner; and that of Christian charity is evident in the pardon he asks for the offenders.

Swift acknowledged the Bishop's communication in the following terms:—

DEAN SWIFT TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Dublin, April 18, 1716.

My Lord,

I am extremely obliged to your lordship for the trouble you have given yourself in answering at length a very insignificant letter. I shall entirely follow your lordship's advice to the best of my skill. Your conjecture from whence my difficulties take their rise is perfectly true. It is all *party*. But the *right* is certainly on my side, if there be anything in constant immemorial custom. Besides, though the first scheme of this cathedral was brought from Sarum, yet by several subsequent grants from popes, kings, archbishops, and Acts of Parliament, the dean has great prerogatives. He visits the chapter as ordinary, and the archbishop only visits by the dean. The dean can suspend and sequester any member, and punishes all crimes except heresy, and one or two more reserved for the archbishop. No lease can be let without him. He holds a court-leet in his district, and is exempt from the Lord Mayor, &c. No chapter can be called but by him, and he dissolves them at pleasure. He disposes absolutely of the petty canons and vicars choral's places. All the dignitaries, &c., swear canonical obedience to him. These circumstances, put together, I presume may alter the case in your lordship's judgment. However, I shall, as your lordship directs me, do my utmost to divert this controversy as much as I can. I must add one thing, that no dignitary can preside without a power from the dean, who, in his absence, makes a sub-dean, and limits him as he pleases. And so much for deaneries, which I hope I shall never trouble your lordship with again.

I send this enclosed, and without superscription, to be sent

or delivered to you by a famous friend of mine and devoted servant of your lordship's.

I congratulate with England for joining with us here in the fellowship of *slavery*. It is not so terrible a thing as you imagine—we have long lived under it; and, whenever you are disposed to know how you ought to behave yourselves in your new condition, you need go no further than *me* for a director. But, because we are resolved to go beyond you, we have transmitted a bill to England, to be returned here, giving the Government and six of the Council power for three years to imprison whom they please for *three months* without any trial or examination; and I expect to be among the first of those upon whom this law will be executed. We have also outdone you in the business of Ben. Hoadly, and have recommended to a bishopric one whom you would not allow to be a curate in the smallest of your parishes. Does your lordship know that, as much as I have been used to lies in England, I am under a thousand uneasinesses about some reports relating to a person that you and I love very well? I have written to a lady upon that subject, and am impatient for an answer. I am gathering up a thousand pounds, and intend to finish my life upon the interest of it in Wales.

God Almighty preserve your lordship *miseris succurrere rebus!*—whether you understand or relish Latin, or no. But it is a great deal your fault if you suffer us all to be undone; for God never gave such talents without expecting they should be used to preserve a nation. There is a Doctor in your neighbourhood to whom I am a very humble servant. I am, &c.

Some persons go this summer for England; and, if Dr. Younger * be talked with, I hope you will so order it that it may not be to my disadvantage.†

There is a remarkable passage towards the close of the foregoing that indicates a knowledge of his correspondent's political projects, and expresses entire concurrence. Notwithstanding all this apparent friendliness, nothing is more clear than that it lasted only with the Bishop's prosperity.

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* Dean of Salisbury.

† Atterbury Papers.

The Prebendaries of Westminster in 1716 were Drs. South, Only, Dent, Linford, Gee, Bradford, Broderick, Kimberley, Canon, and Watson; and Messrs. Evans, Sub-Deacon, and Sprat, Archdeacon of Rochester.*

There were some intractable spirits amongst them, but the Dean was able to maintain his authority till they were tampered with to forward a political object.

He had to search the records of the Abbey, which interested him greatly. It was to this fact that his distinguished contemporary, Addison, thus refers:—

> I have heard one of the greatest geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite studies of antiquity, assure me, upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that, notwithstanding such an employment was at first very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero. †

To the literary productions of Atterbury's already named must now be added a volume of Sermons, dedicated to the Bishop of Winchester.

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* Chamberlayne, 658.

† *Spectator*, No. 447.

CHAPTER VII.

LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE.

Swift's Liberality to Poor Authors—His Self-denial, Exaggerations, and Self-laudation—Atterbury's reported Attempts to convert Pope to Protestantism—Congreve's First Novel and Play—Jeremy Collier—Atterbury discourages Attacks upon the Theatre—Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough—Her Devotion to Congreve—Atterbury consulted by Pope—His Letter respecting the Preface to Pope's Poems, and a Juvenile Epic—The Death of the Poet's Father, and on Milton—Pope's Reply—Appeal from Prior declined—His Epigram on Atterbury's Preaching—Pope's Account to Atterbury of the Lovers destroyed by Lightning—Atterbury's Reply.

SWIFT's good feeling towards his brother *littérateurs* is evident in the entries in his Journal to Stella of his efforts to assist them. February 12, 1712 :—"I was at Jack Hill's, the Governor of Dunkirk. I gave an account of sixty guineas I had collected, and am to give them away to two authors to-morrow; and Lord Treasurer has promised me one hundred pounds to reward some others." He anticipated that admirable institution, "The Literary Fund." On the 19th he writes :—"I was to see a poor poet, one Mr. Diaper, in a nasty garret, very sick. I gave him twenty guineas from Lord Bolingbroke, and disposed the other sixty to two other authors."

Again, at the close of the following month, he adds:—

I was naming some time ago to a certain person, another certain person that was very deserving and poor and sickly; and the other, that first certain person, gave me one hundred pounds to give the other. The person who is to have it never saw the giver, nor expects one farthing, nor has the least knowledge nor imagination of it; so I believe it will be a very agreeable surprise—for I think a handsome present enough. I paid the £100 this evening, and it was a great surprise to the receiver.

Swift may have been worthy of being a bishop on other accounts; but his practical benevolence was perhaps his best claim to the dignity. He seems at this time always striving to do good offices to his literary friends without reference either to their religious or political principles. He warmly recommended Congreve to Harley, and, in noting down the act, says, "I have made a worthy man easy, and that's a good day's work." He did the same service for Parnell, with the same happy effect. He exerted his influence with such zeal in behalf of Pope, that he made the latter's great enterprise, the translation of Homer, certain of success by a preliminary subscription.*

In truth, he was constantly exercising his social influence, which was considerable, in behalf of poor clergymen and unfortunate men of letters; neglecting those opportunities for advancing his own interest which his status in the best society of the time gave him. Pope's genial mind thus couples him with the minister, Harley:—

* "The author," he told Lord Orrery, "shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him."

For Swift and him [he?] despised the farce of state,
The sober follies of the wise and great;
Dext'rous the craving fawning crowd to quit,
And pleased to 'scape from flattery to wit.

Having done his best for Congreve, Parnell, and Pope, he was scarcely less active for Rowe and Philips, and even interceded for Steele, when that reckless journalist had provoked the Government to reprisals; he also befriended Gay, Berkeley, and Prior. A man of his impulsive temperament could not appreciate the cold and stately reserve of Addison. Political partisanship subsequently helped to produce the estrangement. Yet Swift had originally entertained a very warm affection for him, and, at his recommendation, had obtained a handsome sum of money to relieve the necessities of a young man of talent in a deplorable state of health. How tender was the Dean's heart is shown in the following entry in his Journal:—

I took Parnell this morning, and we walked to see poor Harrison.* I had the hundred pounds in my pocket. I told Parnell I was afraid to knock at the door—my mind misgave me. I did knock, and his man, in tears, told me his master was dead an hour before. Think what grief this is to me! I could not dine with the Lord Treasurer—nor anywhere else, but got a bit of meat towards the evening. No loss ever grieved me so much—poor creature!

When the self-denying mood was on Swift, no one more cordially did justice to his contemporaries:—

In Pope I cannot read a line,
But, with a sigh, I wish it mine:
When he can in one couplet fix
More sense than I can do in six.

* He had been Secretary to Lord Raby (Earl Stafford), ambassador at Utrecht, and was a journalist and poet.

It gives me such a jealous fit,
I cry, "P— take him and his wit."
I grieve to be outdone by Gay
In my own humorous biting way.
Arbuthnot is no more my friend,
Who dares to irony pretend,
Which I was born to introduce,
Refined it first, and show'd its use.
St. John, as well as Pulteney, knows
That I had some repute for prose,
And, till they drove me out of date,
Could maul a Minister of State.

Swift was never tired of exaggerating the easy terms on which he lived with the great, and his indifference to the claims of rank and station. In a free imitation of the seventh epistle of the first book of Horace, he thus portrays his association with the Minister:—

Harley, the nation's great support,
Returning home one day from Court
(His mind with public cares possess'd,
All Europe's business in his breast),
Observed a parson near Whitehall,
Cheapening old authors on a stall.
The priest was pretty well in case,
And show'd some humour in his face,
Look'd with an easy careless mien,
A perfect stranger to the spleen;
Of size that might a pulpit fill,
But more inclining to sit still.
My Lord (who, if a man may say't,
Loves mischief better than his meat)
Was now disposed to crack a jest,
And bid friend Lewis go in quest—
(This Lewis is a cunning shaver,
And very much in Harley's favour)—
In quest who might this parson be—
What was his name—of what degree;
If possible to learn his story,
And whether he be Whig or Tory.
Lewis his patron's humour knows,
Away upon his errand goes,
And quickly did the matter sift—
Found out that it was—Doctor Swift—

A clergyman of special note
For shunning those of his own coat,
Which made his brethren of the gown
Take care betimes to run him down.

Swift had not shunned one of his own coat when he dwelt opposite a certain Dean's suburban dwelling, in Chelsea, nor is there any evidence that Atterbury or any other clerical friend depreciated him in the manner intimated in his rhymes; but one of his weaknesses was to consider other members of the Establishment jealous of his superior attainments. He must be permitted to paint his own portrait, after the fashion desired by Queen Elizabeth—without shadows:—

No libertine—nor over-nice;
Addicted to no sort of vice;
Went where he pleased, said what he thought;
Not rich, but owed no man a groat:
In State opinions *à la mode*,
He hated Wharton like a toad,
Had giv'n the faction many a wound,
And libell'd all the junto round.

The artist is tolerably true to nature here, as the columns of the *Examiner* and other publications can still testify:—

Kept company with men of wit,
Who often father'd what he writ.

This assertion must be taken *cum grano salis*—the larger the grain the better. If the self-eulogist had contented himself with boasting that men who wanted wit had been supplied by him, the saline ingredient need not be added; but the very evident compliment to his own superiority would have been very much less prominent.

The poet goes on to state that the minister having

honoured him with an invitation, he neglected it, and is presently sent for more pressingly.

> The Doctor now obeys the summons,
> Likes both his company and commons,
> Displays his talents—sits till ten;
> Next day invited, comes again—
> Soon grows domestic—seldom fails,
> Either at morning or at meals;
> Came early and departed late—
> In short—the gudgeon took the bait.

The poet suggests that the minister angled for the clever parson by offering him a deanery, with

> Two dozen canons round your stall,
> And you the tyrant o'er them all.

The gudgeon took the bait as soon as he heard—

> You need but cross the Irish seas,
> To live in plenty, power, and ease.

Transported with the prospect he had envied when it was enjoyed by his friend Atterbury, he borrowed a considerable sum to meet travelling and other expenses, and started to take possession of his welcome preferment. But a disagreeable journey and a still more disagreeable voyage so disturbed his feelings, that his new dignity appeared to bring him nothing but annoyance and expense. At last, overwhelmed with debt, and worn out with trouble, he sailed and travelled back the road he came, till he arrived at his patron's mansion in town:—

> Said Harley, "Welcome, reverend Dean,
> What makes your worship look so lean?
> Why, sure you won't appear in town,
> In that old wig and rusty gown!
> I doubt your heart is set on pelf,
> So much that you neglect yourself."

The minister continued this banter till the patience of the disappointed gudgeon broke down, and after reproaching his patron for having made him "not worth a groat," he requested to be restored to his former position. This poem was written in the year 1713; but Swift continued in his deanery many years, apparently content with his income, though growing more and more dissatisfied with his exile. Indeed, in the following year he acknowledges, in a similar composition, that he

> should be perfectly content,
> Could I but live on this side Trent,
> Nor cross the channel twice a year,
> To spend six months with statesmen here.

This contingency, however, the Dean could easily have avoided had he not preferred reminding his patron of his disappointment, in the hope of securing a more desirable appointment. He attended Lord Oxford's levées, where, as he himself acknowledges, he is much gratified by the court there paid to him by other applicants for favour, under the impression that he possessed extraordinary interest with the minister:—

> I get a whisper and withdraw,
> When twenty fools I never saw
> Come with petitions fairly penn'd,
> Desiring I would stand their friend.
> This humbly offers me his case,
> That begs my interest for a place;
> A hundred other men's affairs,
> Like bees, are humming in my ears.
> "To-morrow my appeal comes on,
> Without your help the cause is gone."
> "The Duke expects my Lord and you,
> About some great affair at two."
> "Put my Lord Bolingbroke in mind
> To get my warrant quickly sign'd."

How much of this is imaginary there are no means of ascertaining, but, like the preceding representation, it had better be taken *cum grano.*

In another passage Swift dilates on his intimacy with the minister:—

'Tis, let me see, three years and more
(October next it will be four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend;
Would take me in his coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As "What's o'clock?" and "How's the wind?"
"Whose chariot's that we left behind?"
Or gravely try to read the lines
Writ underneath the country signs;
Or, "Have you nothing new to-day,
From Pope, from Parnell, or from Gay?"

He lets the reader know that these small signs of sociality were exhibited by the great statesman while travelling with him in his carriage, once a week, to and from Windsor. The only profit it brought, according to his own testimony, was increased consideration from the lookers-on, to whom he was an object of as much curiosity as malevolence:—

Yet some I know with envy swell,
Because they see me used so well.

It is doubtful whether Lord Oxford was more cordial in his attentions to Swift, than in his civilities to other literary men by whose services he wished to profit. The Dean could make himself an amusing companion, and was therefore acceptable as a means of lessening the tedium of a journey that could afford no better entertainment than the prospect of being plundered by highwaymen or overturned in a ditch.

Atterbury had not long enjoyed the friendship of

Pope, when his attention was directed to the latter's religious principles, or rather to his apparent want of any decided religious faith. Ostensibly the poet was a Roman Catholic, and had so been educated; but his intimacy with Bolingbroke, and the absence of any profession of piety, made some persons imagine that he was an infidel. Atterbury was desirous that a mind so accomplished should not swell the ranks of the free-thinkers, and devoted himself to the task of making him a convert to the Reformed Church; but his friend determined to cling to the form of Christianity he had adopted from his father and mother, and the attempt was unsuccessful.

A story has been told of his having endeavoured to turn Pope from Popery by reading Tillotson's Sermons* to him. The poet's obduracy, however, was so great, he affirmed, that "if it were possible for any man to raise the dead in proof of any other religion than that acknowledged by the Roman Church, it could not shake his creed."

The anecdote is apocryphal. Atterbury had a very high opinion of Tillotson, but had he set himself the task of converting Pope, he was more likely to have drawn upon his own arguments and trusted to his own learning. There is no doubt that they had conversations on the subject, and it is possible that this zealous Protestant would have gladly seen so distinguished a character a member of his own communion; but the other could not reconcile himself to a change of faith that would bring no slight

* Ayre, "Life of Pope," I., 156.

odium upon him from his family and co-religionists. Atterbury may have entertained hopes of converting his friend, especially when harmony in their political views brought them very closely together.

William Congreve had been alternating his Temple studies with attempts at novel writing. Prose fiction was in the hands of a few; Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" were sharing the popular favour with stories of social life more or less artificial by Aphara Behn, Mrs. Manley, and some writers of the other sex whose works are now equally forgotten. With the latter "Incognita; or, Love and Duty Reconciled," might be compared with advantage. Its success emboldened the youthful author to attempt comedy, and the year 1693 saw at Drury Lane the first representation of "The Old Bachelor," with a prologue by Lord Falkland. Society was charmed by its vivacity, and thronged the theatre during its run. At once the author took high rank among contemporary wits, and that eminent patron of merit, Charles Montague, who contrived to find employment for so many rising geniuses, made the popular dramatist a Commissioner of Hackney Coaches, gave him a place in the Pipe Office, as well as another in the Custom House—in all a very handsome provision.

Such recompense caused him to bring out "The Plain Dealer" the following year, which he dedicated to his liberal patron. It became equally fashionable with its predecessor, while both plays were hailed by the critics as unrivalled examples of English comedy. Dryden, Mainwaring, and Southern, subsequently

Addison and Steele, were cordial in their appreciation. Increased success was achieved in "Love for Love," and in the tragedy of "The Mourning Bride," dedicated to Lord Dorset, and Congreve was now one of the great attractions of refined society. It was then that the attention of Atterbury was more particularly directed to his works by the attacks of Jeremy Collier, and the author's defence. In a controversial age, a religious assault upon the theatre was sure of exciting sufficient observation; but if the rigid censor had thought of reviving the prejudices that had supported Prynne in his crusade against the drama, he must have been disappointed. The Court chaplain discouraged cant in every shape. The play-house was scarcely at this period a school of morality, but it was a mirror of social life, and ought not to have been condemned for the fidelity of its reflections. Congreve defended himself ably, and found so much encouraging support that he brought out "The Way of the World"—the last, probably the best, of his dramas, though it met with an indifferent reception.

He followed the example of his contemporaries in cultivating his poetical powers for the purpose of honouring the dispensers of patronage. The Duke of Marlborough had been propitiated by a pastoral on the death of his heir, the Marquis of Blandford, dedicated to Lord Godolphin; and an Ode on the late Queen Anne gave Congreve occasion to return to the great commander. A Pindaric ode on Godolphin and his Birth of the Muse, as well as his dedication of a volume of his poems to Halifax, proved how

zealous he was in favour of those who had secured him an income of at least £1,200 a year. It is but justice to say that he produced many finer poems, that warranted the dedication to him by Steele of his "Miscellanies," the affection of Pope, and the admiration he excited among the best judges of poetry as long as he survived.*

Henrietta, known as the "young Duchess of Marlborough," had such an intense regard for Congreve, that, not content at his death with raising a handsome monument, in Westminster Abbey, to his memory, she is said to have caused a wax figure of him to be modelled, which, having been suitably dressed, she placed in her apartment, talked to it, and had meals regularly served, her grace pretending to perform the duties of hostess. Moreover, she is reported to have called in physicians and consulted them upon the puppet's health, with special reference to a bad leg, which the doting duchess dressed every day.

Congreve, with his official income added to what his writings brought him in, must have enjoyed a state of comparative affluence. Nevertheless, Swift thus

* The favour with which he was regarded in the highest circles, particularly by the noble families he had eulogized, was demonstrated at his death, which occurred January 19, 1728-9. His body was permitted to lie in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and his place of sepulture was the beautiful chapel of Henry VII., his pall-bearers being the Duke of Bridgewater, Lords Godolphin, Cobham, and Wilmington, the Hon. George Berkeley, and Brigadier General Churchill. His monument possesses this inscription, after the name and date: "to whose most valuable memory this monument is set up by Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, as a mark how dearly she remembers the happiness and honour she enjoyed in the sincere friendship of so worthy and honest a man, whose virtue, candour, and wit gained him the love and esteem of the present age, and whose writings will be the admiration of the future."

misrepresents his position, contrasted with that of his patron :—

Thus Congreve spent in writing plays,
And one poor office, half his days;
While Montague, who claim'd the station
To be Mæcenus of the nation,
For poets open table kept,
But ne'er consider'd where they slept.
Himself as rich as fifty Jews,
Was easy though they wanted shoes;
And crazy Congreve scarce could spare
A shilling to discharge his chair,
Till prudence taught him to appeal
From Pæan's fire to party zeal.
Not owing to his happy vein,
The fortunes of his latter scene
Took proper principles to thrive—
And so might every dunce alive.

Pope was preparing for the press a collection of his poems, the edition of 1717; and as one of the many proofs he gave of his respect for Atterbury's judgment, forwarded the preface he had written for it. In reply, his friend expresses some opinions on poetical composition, on perusing which, the reader, if acquainted with his early productions and studies, will feel much surprise. In his next communication, he refers to the poet's juvenile epic, which had also been submitted to him; the opinion he gave produced its destruction.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

December, 1716.

Dear Sir,

I return your preface, which I have read twice with pleasure. The modesty and good sense there is in it must please every one who reads it; and since there is nothing that can offend, I see not why you should balance a moment about printing it, always provided that there is nothing said there which you may have occasion to unsay hereafter—of which you your-

self are the best and the only judge. This is my sincere opinion, which I give because you ask it—and which I would not give, though asked, but to a man I value as much as I do you—being sensible how improper it is, on many accounts, for me to interpose in things of this nature, which I never understood well, and now understand somewhat less than ever I did. But I can deny you nothing; especially since you have had the goodness often and patiently to hear what I have said against rhyme, and in behalf of blank verse, with little discretion, perhaps, but I am sure without the least prejudice; being myself equally incapable of writing well in either of those ways, and leaning, therefore, to neither side of the question, but as the appearance of reason inclines me. Forgive me this error, if it be one; an error of above thirty years standing, and which, therefore, I shall be very loth to part with. In other matters, which relate to polite writing, I shall seldom differ from you; or, if I do, shall, I hope, have the prudence to conceal my opinion.—I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Westminster, February 18th, 1716-17.

Dear Sir,

I hoped to find you last night at Lord Bathurst's,† and came but a few minutes after you had left him. I brought "Gorboduc"‡ with me, and Dr. Arbuthnot telling me he should see you, I deposited the book in his hands, out of which, I think, my Lord Bathurst took it before we parted, and from him, therefore, you are to claim it. If "Gorboduc" should still miss his way to you, others are to answer for it; I have delivered up my trust. I am not sorry your "Alcander" is burnt: had I known your intentions, I would have interceded for the first page, and put it, with your leave, among my curiosities. In truth, it is the only instance of that kind I ever met with from a person good for anything else—nay, for everything else—to which he is pleased to turn himself.

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* Atterbury Papers.

† Allen Bathurst, first Baron Bathurst; so created by Queen Anne, in 1711. —W. M.

‡ A tragedy written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer to Her Majesty, and Thomas Norton, one of the translators of the Psalms.—W. M.

Depend upon it, I shall see you with great pleasure at Bromley; and there is no request you can make to me that I shall not most readily comply with. I wish you health and happiness of all sorts, and would be glad to be instrumental in any degree towards helping you to the least share of either.—I am, &c.*

The good understanding that continued to be cultivated by Pope and Atterbury is observable in their correspondence. It is clear that the latter was anxious for his friend's spiritual welfare, and had endeavoured to direct his attention towards religion. If Pope's statement of his readings in divinity is to be accepted, the arguments on either side the controversy could have made very little impression upon him; but the poet did not read for conviction, and, probably, would have perused the orations of Demosthenes and the discourses of Cicero with about as lively a faith.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, November 8, 1717.

Dear Sir,

I have nothing to say to you on that melancholy subject, with an account of which the public papers have furnished me, but what you have already said to yourself.

When you have paid the debt of tenderness you owe to the memory of a father, I doubt not but you will turn your thoughts towards improving that incident to your own ease and happiness. You have it now in your power to pursue that method of thinking and living which you like best. Give me leave (if I am not a little too early in my applications of this kind) to congratulate you upon it, and to assure you that there is no man living who wishes you better, or would be more pleased to contribute any way to your satisfaction or service.

* * * * *

* Atterbury Papers.

I return you your Milton, which, upon collation, I find to be revised and augmented in several places, as the title-page of my third edition pretends it to be. When I see you next, I will show you the several passages altered and added by the author, beside what you mentioned to me.

I protest to you this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that I look upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence than I used to do. I challenge you, with all your partiality, to show me in the first of these anything equal to the Allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justness of the invention, or the height and beauty of the colouring. What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow's, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it: —

> Hœc quicunque leget, tantum cecinisse putabit
> Mœonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.*

But more of this when we meet. When I left the town, the Duke of Buckingham† continued so ill that he received no messages. Oblige me so far as to let me know how he does; at the same time I shall know how you do, and that will be a double satisfaction to your, &c.‡

A once celebrated critic wrote :—

Atterbury's delight in Milton's poetry arose from a congeniality of taste, and had he not so professedly regarded Pope as *unrivalled*, he would himself, I think, from the extracts here given, have been a pathetic poet. In genius, in deep learning, in comprehensive talents, Atterbury, no doubt, must appear far inferior to Milton; but there was something *approaching* to Milton in particular features of his character; and the firmness which appears in his writings under sickness, exile, and domestic

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* The concluding lines of the commendatory verses of Samuel Barrow, M.D., prefixed to the poem.—W. M.

† John Sheffield, the first Duke of that family; so created by Queen Anne. In his "Election of a Poet Laureate, 1719," a portraiture is given of Bishop Atterbury.—W. M.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

calamity, draws the resemblance nearer, when we think on them both—

On evil tongues though fallen, and evil days,

still wooing the consolations of the Muse.*

Atterbury's distinguished correspondent replied:—

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

November 20, 1717.

My Lord,

I am truly obliged by your kind condolence on my father's death, and the desire you express that I should improve this incident to my advantage. I know your lordship's friendship to me is so extensive, that you include in that wish both my spiritual and my temporal advantage; and it is what I owe to that friendship to open my mind unreservedly to you on this head. It is true, I have lost a parent for whom no gains I could make would be any equivalent. But that was not my only tie: I thank God, another still remains (and long may it remain!) of the same tender nature—*Genitrix est mihi*—and excuse me if I say, with Euryalus,—

—— nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis.

A rigid divine may call it a carnal tie, but surely it is a virtuous one: at least I am more certain that it is a duty of nature to preserve a good parent's life and happiness than I am of any speculative point whatever:—

—— Ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli
Hanc ego, nunc, linquam?

For she, my lord, would think this separation more grievous than myself; and I, for my part, know as little as poor Euryalus did of the success of such an adventure; for an adventure it is, and no small one, in spite of the most positive divinity. Whether the change would be to my spiritual advantage, God only knows. This I know, that I mean as well in the religion I now profess as I can possibly ever do in any other. Can a man, who thinks so, justify a change, even if he thought both equally good? To such an one, the part of *joining* with any one body of Christians

* The Rev. Lisle Bowles.

might perhaps be easy; but I think it would not be so to *renounce* the other.

Your lordship has formerly advised me to read the best books of controversies between the Churches. Shall I tell you a secret? I did so at fourteen years old; for I loved reading, and my father had no other books. There was a collection of all that had been written on both sides in the reign of King James the Second. I warmed my head with them, and the consequence was that I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read. I am afraid most seekers are in the same case, and, when they stop, they are not so properly converted as outwitted. You see how little glory you would gain by my conversion. And, after all, I verily believe your lordship and I are both of the same religion, if we were thoroughly understood by one another; and that all honest and reasonable Christians would be so if they did but talk enough together every day, and had nothing to do together but to serve God and live in peace with their neighbour.

As to the *temporal* side of the question, I can have no dispute with you. It is certain all the beneficial circumstances of life, and all the shining ones, lie on the part you would invite me to. But if I could bring myself to fancy, what I think you do but fancy, that I have any talents for active life, I want health for it; and, besides, it is a real truth, I have less inclination (if possible) than ability. Contemplative life is not only my scene, but it is my habit too. I began my life, where most people end theirs, with a disrelish of all that the world calls ambition. I do not know why it is called so, for to me it always seemed to be rather *stooping* than *climbing*. I will tell you my politic and religious sentiments in a few words. In my politics I think no further than how to preserve the peace of my life in any government under which I live, nor in my religion than to preserve the peace of my conscience in any church with which I communicate. I hope all churches and all governments are so far of God as they are rightly understood and rightly administered; and where they are or may be wrong, I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them, which, whenever He does, it must be by greater instruments than I am. I am not a Papist; for I renounce the temporal invasions of the Papal power, and detest their arrogated authority over princes or states. I am

a Catholic in the strictest sense of the word. If I was born under an absolute prince, I would be a quiet subject; but I thank God I was not: I have a due sense of the excellence of the British constitution. In a word, the things I have always wished to see are not a Roman Catholic, or a French Catholic, or a Spanish Catholic, but a true Catholic; and not a King of Whigs, or a King of Tories, but a King of England, which God of his mercy grant his present Majesty may be, and all future majesties! You see, my lord, I end like a preacher; but this is *Sermo ad Clerum*, not *ad Populum*.—Believe me, &c.*

Two "old Westminsters" were now closely associated in pursuits, literary and political. The elevation of one caused his patronage to be appealed to by the other. The conscientious bishop could not comply; nevertheless he could entertain the ex-ambassador with recollections of their mutual studies in familiar quotations conned beneath "the shell" under the auspices of the awful Busby, the effect of which was that the disappointed applicant was as much charmed as if he had succeeded. Nevertheless, he never forgot the refusal.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Westminster, August 25, 1718.

My dear Lord,

Mr. Clough (my godson), whom, according to my promise made for him at the font, I have not only bred a Christian but a clergyman, tells me that the vicarage of Dartford is vacant, by the death of Mr. Price, and that he has a mind to succeed him in a place which may give him an opportunity of doing good, and learning more so to do by being under your lordship's jurisdiction and government. If your lordship is of the same opinion, I hope he will obtain what he desires, and I believe deserves; and I am sure my writing in his

* Atterbury Papers. Pope's Letters.

behalf will do him no dis-service. I would add more, but by a confounded distemper (which we physicians call *Colicæ Morbus*, and which you divines would heretofore have been addicted to think the possession of devils), I can hold my pen no longer than to say,—

Dum spiritus hos regat artus.

I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MATTHEW PRIOR.

Bromley, August 26, 1718.

Dear Sir,

The first news I heard of your being ill was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself; and, depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not easily be shaken off. You will hear more of it if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits; but temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined) will keep it at a distance.

Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already disposed of the living. However, I frankly said to him what I now say to you, that if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market town, which requires perpetual residence, and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor canonry of Rochester, is of a value equal to that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both consistent. That is a scheme which I can no way approve, especially in a young single man, who does not want a tolerable support, for he has a good one hundred per annum now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully justify myself when I see you; but when will that be? Do you remember the solemn promise you made me of coming hither this summer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience. My peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted, and one of my poetical neighbours, who observed my uneasiness, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied these verses of Virgil to me:—

* Atterbury Papers.

Mirabar quid *mœste* Deos, *Francisce*, vocares;
Cui pendere suâ patereris in arbore poma:
Tityrus hinc aberat; ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,
Ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbusta vocabant.

What excuse shall I make for Tityrus? That he neglected his little friends for the sake of his great ones; that he was paying his court and getting the colic. You know what Tityrus says for *himself* in the lines that follow:—

Quid facerem? neque servitis me ex ire licebat,
Nec tam præsentes alibi cognoscere divos.

Would I could say of any one of those *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,—

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti.

Those two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart; they are worth the whole Eclogue.

You see what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourself by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without observing to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this case has over the original. Virgil, in those five little words, "Dum spiritus hos reget artus," has expressed the whole force of a line and a half in Homer,—

ἰσόν' ἀϋτμὴ
Ἔν στήθεσσι μίνῃ, καί μοι φίλα γύνατ' ὀρώρῃ.

"Reget artus" takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of φίλα γύνατα, which adds not to the beauty or strength of the image, and is, therefore, better omitted than expressed.

The rise of this reflection is from the gout, which has at present laid hold of me; should it take away the use of my φίλα γύνατα, I should be nevertheless yours, because I am so while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Westminster, everywhere; in Greek, in Latin, in English; and (which is more) in good earnest, I am, &c.*

* Atterbury Papers.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Richings Lodge,* September 3, 1718.

My Lord,

You have done, as you do commonly, very right in Clough's affair; or, if you had not, I forgive you all for the kindness of your letter, and will tell you so on Saturday. The word *Francisce* was worth ten of your master's *quæ vellems*, and gave me more delight than a whole epistle from any hand else. Why do not I write more to you? Because you write too well for me or anybody else; and, though I cannot rightly express it, I mean to say something by which you would understand that I doubt whether I more admire or love you. Pray turn that thought in your own way, and then let me say I wrote it. You cannot oblige me more, except by continuing to me the honour of your friendship. I am well again, but have left London for a day or two, that, with my dear Lord Bathurst, I may get something better than the colic.

Adieu, my lord. I am, &c.†

Prior's resentment for the refusal of his application was shown in two or three biting epigrams, such as:—

DOCTORS DIFFER.

When Willis of Ephraim heard Rochester preach,
Thus Bentley said to him, "I prythee, dear brother,
How likest thou this sermon—'tis out of my reach;"
"His is one way," said Willis, "and ours is another.
I care not for carping, but this I can tell,
We preach very sadly if he preaches well." ‡

Gay constantly associated with persons of distinction of both sexes. In the year 1717, Lord Burlington took him into Devonshire; in the following year Mr. Pulteney insisted on his accompanying him to Aix, in France; and the year after he was residing at Stanton Harcourt with the Earl when the tragic incident happened that Pope describes in the following

* At Iver, in Buckinghamshire; a villa at that time the residence of Allen, the first Lord Bathurst.

† Atterbury Papers. ‡ Prior's Miscellaneous Works, 106. 1740.

letter. The rustic lovers who were destroyed by the electric fluid were to have been married the next week. Lord Harcourt caused a monument to be erected in the churchyard to perpetuate their fate. It bore the following inscription:—

When Eastern lovers feed the funeral fire,
On the same pile the faithful pair expire;
Here pitying Heaven that virtue mutual found,
And blasted both that it might neither wound;
Hearts so sincere the Almighty saw well pleased,
Sent his own lightning and the victims seized.

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

September 8, 1718.

My Lord,

I have long had a desire to write to your lordship, though I cannot imagine to what end; since it is not anything I can say upon paper that can give you any title to me, which you have not already, or hope to tell you any part of my respect and esteem which you know not already. But I have gotten a sort of a subject for blotting this by means of an accident which has happened here:* a young man and woman were destroyed by one stroke of lightning, who were contracted in marriage some days before. They were people of a very good character; yet the country here are ready to rise against their minister for allowing them Christian burial. They cannot put it out of their heads but so remarkable a death was a judgment from God. It is pleasant enough to consider that people, who fancy themselves good Christians, should be so absurd as to think the same misfortunes, when they befal others, a punishment of vice; and, when they happen to themselves, an exercise of virtue. I would try to do some service in procuring the following epitaph to be set over them, or something to this purpose. I send it to your lordship for your opinion, both as to the doctrine and the poetry; as I am very certain nothing is either fit for the Church or the public, which is not agreeable to your sentiments:—

Think not by rigorous judgment seized,
A pair so faithful could expire;
Victims so pure Heaven saw well pleased,
And snatch'd them in celestial fire.

* Stanton Harcourt.

Live well, and fear no sudden fate;
When God calls Virtue to the grave,
Alike 'tis justice soon or late,
Mercy alike to kill or save!
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
And face the flash that melts the ball!

I beg you, my lord, not to spare me one word that is put in for the sake of rhyme. I know you will be so gentle to the modern Goths and Vandals as to allow them to put a few rhymes upon tombs or over doors, where they have not room to write much, and may have hopes to make rhyme live by the material it is graved upon. In return, I promise your lordship, as soon as Homer* is translated, to allow it unfit for long works; but to say so at present would be what your *second* thoughts could never approve of, because it would be a profession of repentance and conviction, and yet a perseverance in the sin.

I have lived where I have done nothing but sinned, that is rhymed, these six weeks.† I dare not approach you till the fit is over. I thank God, I find the symptoms almost gone; and may therefore soon expect to pass my time much more agreeably in London or at Bromley. I beg you to think me what I am, &c.‡

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, September 12, 1718.

Dear Sir,

I received here this morning a letter from you, without

* On the first blank leaf of a fine copy of the Iliad of Homer (Turnebus, 1554), in the Editor's possession, the following elegant compliment to Pope appears in the handwriting of Atterbury:—

F. Roffen.
Homeri Iliadem,
Typistiis nitidissimis Græce editam,
Dono mihi dedit,
Qui eandem Carmine Anglicano,
Musis Gratiisque faventibus, expressam
Genti nostræ prius donaverat,
ALEXANDER POPE.
—— quantum Instar in ipso est!
Haud fuerit quanquam, quem Tu sequereris, Homere;
Est tamen, est qui Te posset, Homere, sequi.—W. M.

† In the Tower at Stanton Harcourt, on a pane of glass, was inscribed:—
"In the year 1718, Alexander Pope finished here the
Fifth Volume of Homer."—W. M.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

any account of the place from whence it was written. I suppose you thought this a notable contrivance to escape an answer. I have ill-nature enough to take a pleasure in defeating that design; and will therefore guess, as well as I can, where you are, and venture a letter at random; but I hope, through my Lord Harcourt's cover, it may reach you. If it does, I have my revenge; a principle which, on this particular occasion, I am not ashamed to own.

In good earnest, sir, I was pleased to see a letter from you; and pleased with the subject of that letter. Christianity is the best-natured institution in the world, and is so far from allowing such harsh censures that it hath directly forbidden them, and expressly decided against them. You know the passage—"Suppose ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all other Galilæans, because they suffered such things? I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." What think you of letting the minister of the parish contribute this as his share towards an inscription on the grave-stone, and as a proper rebuke to his censuring neighbours; worthy of being inscribed, not on such a monument only, but on the heart of every one that owns himself a Christian? How far this prose and your poetry, a verse of Scripture and the stanzas you sent me, are fit to keep company with each other, I pretend not to say; but sure I am that the words are weighty.

You are too good to me to think that my relish of such performances is sufficient to make me capable of advising you; or if I were, yet my partiality, in behalf of whatever you write, would steal away my judgment. However, since you are so civil and seem so sincere, I will try for once to divest myself of such prejudices, and will venture to tell you my mind of what you know so much better than I do. If I show my unskilfulness, I shall yet give you a proof of my friendship and an instance of the power you have over me. Perhaps there is nobody, but you, that could so easily have led me into so great a mistake. Use your influence gently if you intend to preserve it.

I like the lines well: they are yours, and they are good; and on both these accounts are very welcome to me. You know my opinion that poetry, without a moral, is a body without a soul. Let the lines be ever so finely turned, if they do not point to some useful truth—if there is not instruction at the bottom of

them, they can give no true delight to a reasonable mind. They are "versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ;" and as such they may tinkle prettily in the ears, but will never reach the heart, or leave a durable impression behind them.

Nobody, that reads what you have written, will blame you in this respect, for it is all over morality from the beginning to the end of it; and it pleases me the better because I fancy it drawn from the sources of Horace, for I cannot help thinking that his—

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ—

was (whether you attended to it or no) the original from which your two last verses were copied. I wish you had prepared the way for the latter of them, as he has done, for the idea given us by "fractus illabatur orbis," which is strong enough to support that which follows, "impavidum ferient ruinæ;" whereas you melt the ball at once without giving us any warning, and are led on the sudden from a particular account to the general conflagration; and that too is to be effected by a *flash*, a word not equal to the work on which it is employed.

Pardon this freedom. But my old Master Roscommon has an expression which I always looked upon as very happy and significant—

He who *proportioned* numbers can disclose;

and without that just proportion nothing is truly admirable.

Will you forgive me if I add that *melting the ball*, without the preparation I mentioned, is too apt to lead us into the image of a snow-ball? Waller, I am persuaded, for the sake of the F and the B (of which he was remarkably fond), would have chosen to say—

And face the flash that *burns* the ball.

I am far from proposing this as an improvement. I do not think it such: or, if it were, I would not offer it; for where the images themselves are not well suited, it is in vain to alter a particular expression.

I know not whither I am going in this track of criticism, to which I have been long a stranger; but since I am in for it—"Pergite, Pierides!"

In the first stanza, I must take the liberty to object against *so faithful* and *so pure;* because they are so near to one another, and yet belong to different sentences. Nor can I approve that confusion of ideas which seems to be in the two last lines. Elijah indeed was snatched up in a chariot of fire; but *pure victims*, consumed by fire from heaven, cannot be said to be snatched up in it. Has the word *celestial*, in the fourth line, any force? If heaven snatches them up in fire, that fire must needs be celestial, *i.e.* heavenly.

Your second stanza is full of good sense, shortly expressed; but methinks there is some obscurity in it, "quo vitio minimè teneri soles," as Suetonius says of Horace. For when God calls the virtuous to the grave, though he be alike just whether he calls him soon or late, yet it should not be said that he is alike merciful whether he kills or saves him; because if he saves him, the very supposition of his being called to the grave is destroyed. Nor am I perfectly satisfied with the phrase—

When God calls Virtue to the grave;

though, if the connection of it with the fourth line were exact in point of sense, the expression itself would not shock me.

Virtue unmov'd. Should you not rather say *Goodness* than repeat the word *Virtue*, which you had used three lines before? So you had *call* also; but that repetition is graceful, the verb being changed into a substantive, and becoming by that means a new word which echoes to the former, and yet differs from it.

——— aliusque et idem
Nasceris

says he who says everything better than anybody else, but Virgil.

Hæc ego dictabam, sylvas saltusque peragrans
Bromleios, urbes urbanaque gaudia vitans,
Excepto, quòd non simul esses, cætera lætus:
Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam (si credis) amœnæ,
Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis!

You see, sir, I have obeyed your commands, because they are yours, with a frankness which I should like in another; and therefore hope you will not dislike in me. I have ventured to object to what I could not have written, and cannot mend. I was pleased with the thought of writing to you, though upon a

subject which did not altogether please me; for experience has taught me that it is a wiser and better pleasure to taste the beauties of good writers than to find out their faults, especially since it is great odds that, when we are playing the critic, we commit more real mistakes than we pretend to find. That, I doubt not, is my case: however, *jacta est alea!*

I say nothing to you about *rhyme*, because it is a subject on which I have so much to say. Why should you forego an advantage which you enjoy in perfection, and own that way of writing not to be the best in which you write better than any man? I am not so unreasonable as to expect it. But I know I have the testimony of your poetical conscience on my side, though you are wise enough not to own so unpopular and unprofitable a truth.

When I see you here, as you seem to promise, more of these matters. In the mean time, I am, &c.*

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* Atterbury Papers.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICIANS.

Harley and the Tory Government of Queen Anne—Walpole goes into Opposition—Expelled the House of Commons for Corruption; and committed to the Tower—The *Examiner* and the *Medley*—Addison and Steele attack the Administration—Garth *v.* Prior—Addison's Compliment to Atterbury's Poetical Talent—Panegyrists and Satirists—Dedications—The *Medley*—Dr. William King—Lord Lansdowne—His Eulogium on James II.—Steele and Walpole—Mainwaring—Robert Molesworth—Archdeacon Coxe's Suppressions of the Influence of Atterbury, and Misrepresentation of his Conduct—Lord Halifax impeached.

HARLEY, when at the head of the Queen's government, strove to strengthen his forces by means of recruits from the ranks of his defeated adversaries. He made a proposal to Walpole, but that shrewd calculator had no faith in the duration of Toryism. The constitution of the country might last for ages, but that of the Queen could not be relied upon for more than a brief interval. With a Tory government, high church and high state principles were matters of course; and these could not in the present state of things be reconciled with the popular idea of the Protestant succession and "No Popery." He was content to bide his time, watching his opportunity to aid in the restoration of his own party and his own political

principles. He therefore went into opposition with a zeal that made him defend his late colleagues whenever attacked, and attack those statesmen who had superseded them whenever a chance presented itself of doing so with effect.

This conduct of course made him obnoxious to the existing Government. They saw that their tenure of office must be short if such tactics were permitted. The game played by the Whigs to displace Harley was now played by the Tories to get rid of Walpole. Very few public men of that age could come out of the ordeal of an inquiry unscathed. Walpole's administration, as Secretary at War, was looked into, and, as usual, enormous corruption discovered. The ministerial majority of the House of Commons were indignant, and in the session of 1711 went to the extreme course of expulsion, and then committed him close prisoner to the Tower.

It was the making of his political fortune. With the plea of injured innocence he raised the shout of party persecution, and presently became more popular in the prison than ever he had been in the Senate. He held levées, which were attended by the most distinguished Whigs: even the dreadfully indignant Duchess of Marlborough, the more plainly to show her defiant spirit, condescended to pay a visit to the captive. He became the object not only of pamphlet but of ballad popularity. Estcourt came forward on the occasion with verses on "The Jewel in the Tower."

As an interesting victim, Walpole had changed places with Sacheverell; not so quickly with the

result that had attended the Doctor's prosecution, but to expedite it the dismissed Secretary employed all his energies and all his resources. The press was his chief reliance, and he lavished his gains of office in recompensing writers capable of doing justice to his case. Richard Steele was so employed, but the most energetic of his pamphleteers was himself.

Neither Addison's "Campaign," nor John Philips's "Blenheim," realized the grand suggestiveness of the subject. They were good enough as specimens of the pompous panegyric then in vogue. They were executed by their authors as a sort of poetical duel—in which Godolphin and Halifax were the seconds of one, and Harley and St. John those of the other. Marlborough was the hero both parties were desirous of elevating on the highest possible pedestal, but neither the Whig nor the Tory poet was able to raise his production much above the level of mediocrity. There is, however, a passage in "The Campaign" which Philips could not have equalled; indeed, his merit did not lie in this direction:—

'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war;
In peaceful thought the scenes of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage:
So when an angel, by Divine command,
With rising tempest shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia pass'd,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

Steele, eager to do justice to his friend, quoted this

passage as an example of the true sublime;* but the English commander, in full wig, cocked hat, and wide-skirted uniform, presiding over a field of carnage, can scarcely be described as fulfilling the commands of the Deity in angelic guise.

Some of the early literary friends of Dr. Atterbury were not disposed to sit still and see their patrons abused. Steele and Addison, in particular, proved restless under the provocation given to them in the new journal.

Dr. Garth was still more impatient of the discomfiture of his patrons, and sung their praises with increased zeal. One example attracted considerable attention, and created a remarkable controversy. It represents the current coin of compliment which contemporary poets put out to interest:—

TO THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

Whilst weeping Europe bends beneath her ills,
And where the sword destroys, not famine kills,
Our Isle enjoys, by your successful care,
The pomp of peace amidst the woes of war.
So much the public to your prudence owes,
You think no labours long for our repose;
Such conduct, such integrity are shown,
There are no coffers empty but your own!
From mean dependence, merit you retrieve,
Unask'd you offer, and unseen you give.
Your favours, like the Nile, increase bestows,
And yet conceals the source from whence it flows.
So poised your passions are, we find no frown,
If Funds oppress'd not, and if Commerce run,
Taxes diminish'd, Liberty entire,
These are the grants your services require.
Thus far the State machine wants no repair,
But moves *in matchless order* by your care,
Free from confusion, settled and serene,
And, like the Universe, by springs unseen.

* *Tatler*, No. 43.

But now some star sinister to our prayers,
Contrives new schemes, and calls you from affairs,
No anguish in your looks nor cares appear,
But how to teach th' unpractised crew to steer.
Thus, like *some victim*, no constraint you need,
To expiate their offence by whom *you bleed!*
Ingratitude's a weed in every clime;
It thrives too fast at first, but fades in time;
The God of Day and your own lot 's the same,
The vapours you have raised obscure your flame,
But though you faster and awhile retreat,
Your globe of light looks larger as you set.

There could be no doubt about the poem being a Whig manifesto, written to elevate the discarded minister at the expense of his successors in office. Atterbury must have laughed over the extravagance of the eulogium and the absurdity of the diction; but the spirit of depreciation, which, while the versifier represented the Whig statesman as a bleeding victim, misrepresented the Tory statesmen as an unpractised crew, as well as mere vapours of their sun-like predecessor's raising, he and his political friends were of opinion that the public ought to look closely into it.

The *Examiner* had only been in existence a few weeks. Prior took up the verses to Lord Godolphin, and criticized their production much more with the animus of an angry politician than the judgment of a true poet. In the sixth number of the new Tory periodical the Whig verses, were turned the seamy side without. The provocation was great, and the punishment proportionate. The loungers at Button's, the gossips at Will's, the fine gentlemen at White's, and the lovers of humour everywhere, were reading and laughing over Prior's summary :—

In thirty lines his patron is a river, the *primum mobile*, a pilot,

a victim, the sun—anything and nothing. He bestows increase, conceals his source, makes the machine move, teaches to steer, expiates our offences, raises vapours, and looks larger as he sets.

The ridicule aimed at the physician annoyed his friends and patrons. "The world's dread laugh" was not to be desired by the Whigs in their present position, and the aid of the ablest of their literary supporters was sought to silence the audacious critic. A rival periodical, called "The Medley, or Whig Examiner," was selected as the channel of publicity, and to Addison was deputed the task of demolishing Prior. The scorn with which he affected to treat the remarks of so esteemed a poet, was not more remarkable than the use he made of his knowledge of the ablest of his colleagues. The sincerity of his praise of the latter may be as open to question as that of his contempt for the former: there is no question that he forgot the author of much good poetry in his desire to avenge the laugh he had raised against his friends.

He quoted certain verses, "On a Lady's Fan," with the remark that, "without flattery to the author, the composition is, I think, as beautiful in its kind as any one in the English tongue."

Flavia the least and slightest toy
Can with resistless force employ;
This fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of small force in love;
But she with such an air and mien,
Not to be told or rarely seen,
Diverts its wanton motions so
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow,
Gives coolness to the matchless dame,
To every other breast a flame!

The essayist adds, "When the coxcomb had done

reading them, 'Hey-day!' says he, 'what instrument is this that Flavia employs in such a manner as is not to be told nor safely seen? In ten lines it is a toy, a Cupid's bow, a fan, and an engine in love. It has wanton motions, it wounds, it cools, and inflames.'"

Addison supplements this with, "Such criticisms make a man of sense sick, and a fool merry."*

The verses had been written many years before by Atterbury, in compliment to the young lady he married; and the critic thus retorted on Prior, who had written the offensive critique on the poem of a friend, while paying a suggestive mark of respect to his talented colleague.

Addison made another happy hit at the hypercriticism of his day in the *Spectator*, No. 470, August 29, 1712, in which, after giving the verses beginning

My love was fickle once and changing,

he adds pretended variations from a Vatican MS., Scioppius, Salmasius, the Cotton Library, Aldus, the elder Æneas, and the German MS. He says:—

I have often fancied with myself how enraged an old Latin author would be should he see the several absurdities in sense and grammar which are imputed to him by some or other of these various readings. In one he speaks nonsense, in another makes use of a word that was never heard of; and indeed there is scarce a solecism in writing which the best author is not guilty of, if we may be at liberty to read him in the words of some MS. which the laborious editor has thought fit to examine in the prosecution of his work.

* *Tatler*, No. 239; October 19, 1710. In some editions of these Essays it is incorrectly stated that the celebrated actress, Mrs. Oldfield, was the Flavia of this charming poem.

Addison and Steele dealt largely in dedications, complimentary verses, and prose eulogies to people in power. Each republished volume of the *Spectator* was inscribed to a patron. The first volume was dedicated to John Lord Somers, who, in consequence of his able advocacy of the Protestant prelates, had been elevated to the highest posts in his profession. He had been impeached when Lord Chancellor, but Queen Anne appointed him Lord President of the Privy Council. Addison did justice to the merits of this distinguished man in a paper in another of his periodicals, the *Freeholder*. *

The second volume of the *Spectator* is dedicated to Charles Lord Halifax, to whom the editor professes a passionate veneration at the commencement, and at the close asks forgiveness for telling the world "how ardently I love and honour you." His lordship had the good fortune to be eulogized by the same pen in the *Tatler*. Addison added his liberal commendation, and was extremely touchy when any attack was made upon the minister by his political opponents.

The third volume was inscribed to the Hon. Henry Boyle, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State. He introduced Addison to Lord Godolphin. The fourth volume, in much more extravagant terms, is dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough. The last sentence, however, seems to be of somewhat doubtful significance.† The fifth volume

* Published on the day of his Lordship's funeral. He died April 26, 1716, worn out by infirmities. He was born in 1652.

† We may congratulate your Grace not only upon your high achievements, but likewise upon the happy expiration of your command, by which your glory is put out of the power of Fortune; and when your person shall be so too, that the

bore the name of Thomas Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Wharton,* to whom Addison was secretary when his lordship was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is intensely flattering. The sixth volume is inscribed to the Earl of Sunderland, another cabinet minister. It is of the same character as its predecessor, and concludes by "desiring your lordship would continue your favour and patronage to me, *as you are a gentleman of the most polite literature.*" The seventh volume is inscribed to Mr. Methuen, subsequently Sir Paul.

The recommendations of this public servant are stated to be "the most graceful address in horsemanship, in the use of the sword, and in dancing," and "the frank entertainment we have at your table, your easy condescension in little incidents of mirth and diversion, and general complacency of manners." "Richard Steele" is the signature at the bottom of this; the others are anonymous, being signed, "The Spectator."

As if the editor had exhausted his patrons, or that there was a new order of things established, which made patronage uncertain, the eighth volume is dedicated to the imaginary character, "Will Honeycombe," supposed to have been a portrait of Colonel Cleland. It is much the most amusing of the series, but has been attributed to Eustace Budgell.

The persons to whom Addison and Steele paid

Author and Disposer of all things may place you in that higher mansion of bliss and immortality, which is prepared for good princes, lawgivers, and heroes, when He in His due time removes them from the envy of mankind, is the hearty prayer of," &c., &c.

* He died in 1715.

court, and from whom they had received favours, were the leaders of the party assailed by Swift and his colleagues in the *Examiner*. The former loses his temper at this hostility, and throws names on all and sundry engaged in it; but these comments contain only indirect references to Atterbury—the most evident being a passage in No. 604.

> While I was employing myself for the good of mankind, I was surprised to meet with very unsuitable returns from my fellow-creatures. Never was poor author so beset with pamphleteers, who sometimes marched directly against me, but oftener shot at me from strong bulwarks, or rose up suddenly in ambush. They were of all characters and capacities—some with ensigns of dignity, and others in liveries; but what most surprised me was to see two or three in *black gowns* among my enemies.

The success of these periodicals suggested an additional source of revenue, so the Government put on a halfpenny stamp, 1st of August, 1712. Addison dilates on this in the *Spectator*, No. 445, not without considerable irritation. He refers to his enemies, "the insignificant party zealots on both sides, men of such poor narrow souls that they are not capable of thinking on anything but with an eye to Whig or Tory." He continues: "During the course of this paper I have been accused by *these despicable wretches* of trimming, time-serving, personal reflections, secret satire, and the like;" and presently, adds: "several paltry scribblers and declaimers have done me the honour to be dull upon me in reflections of this nature, but notwithstanding my name has been sometimes traduced by this *contemptible tribe of men*,

I have hitherto avoided all animadversions upon them." *

Steele has acquired a reputation for attacking public characters, but he was equally ready at compliments, as for instance, when he commends the principal members of the Administration in February, 1709–10, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord High Treasurer, the President of the Council, the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The force of panegyric could no further go, nor much broader. Addison confined his praise to one minister at a time; Steele favoured a batch.† But he never complimented with more felicity than when he praised Addison after he had left the country (*Tatler*, May 25, 1710): it is a genial portrait that ought to be framed side by side with the more familiar one executed by Pope.

Aristæus is in my opinion a perfect master of himself in all circumstances. He has all the spirit that men can have, and yet is as regular in his behaviour as a mere machine. He is sensible of every passion, but ruffled by none. In conversation he frequently seems less knowing, to be more obliging, and chooses to be on a level with others, rather than oppress with the superiority of his genius. In friendship he is kind without profession, in business expeditious without ostentation. With the greatest softness and benevolence imaginable, he is impartial in spite of all importunity—even that of his own good nature. He is ever clear in his judgment, but in complaisance to his company speaks with doubt, and never shows confidence in argument but to support the sense of another.

* The writer appears to have forgotten his attack on Swift, in No. 23.

† The Duke of Marlborough, Sidney Lord Godolphin, Lord Somers, Lord Cowper, Edward Russell, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Earl of Wharton. *Tatler*, No. 130.

In several papers in the *Spectator* Addison dwells with marked irritation on the excesses of party writers; he refers to their calumny and defamation, denounces them as a race of vermin that are a scandal to government, and a reproach to human nature. He adds: "Every one who has in him the sentiments either of a Christian or a gentleman, cannot but be highly offended at this wicked and ungenerous practice;" then classes them with "murderers and assassins."*

The *Englishman*, another enterprise of the zealous partisan Steele, was commenced October 18, 1713; which included a series of communications entitled "The Crisis; or, a Discourse Representing from the most Ancient Records the Just Causes of the late Revolution, and the Several Settlements of the Crown of England, with some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor." The object of it was the advocacy of the Hanoverian succession, to which many persons in England were averse. Robert Walpole appears to have been the instigator, and as he had just been expelled the House of Commons, Steele, who was eager to distinguish himself as his subordinate, when the House assembled, put himself forward as his champion, as early as the opening debate on the choice of a Speaker. As he spoke, excitement was manifested by both parties, till the confusion broke out into an uproar.

It was on the 10th November, 1713, that a member rose and directed the attention of the House to

* No. 451; Thursday, August 7, 1712.

three passages in the *Englishman*, signed Richard Steele, manifestly seditious, highly reflecting on Her Majesty, and arraigning her administration and government. The member for Stockbridge was ordered to attend on the 13th, when he was permitted five days to make his defence. He at first treated the affair with mockery, but subsequently had to appear at the bar, where, with the assistance of his friend Addison, the member for Malmesbury, he attempted a sort of justification, which he rendered as insulting as he could to his political opponents.

When he had been ordered to withdraw, there was a debate, in which he was defended by the two Walpoles, and Lords Finch, Lumley, and Hinchinbroke; but on a division this motion was carried by 245 against 152:—

That a printed pamphlet called the *Englishman*, being the close of the paper so called, and one other pamphlet entitled the *Crisis*, written by Richard Steele, Esq., a member of this House, are scandalous and seditious libels, containing many expressions highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, upon the nobility, gentry, clergy, and universities of this kingdom, maliciously insinuating that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under Her Majesty's administration, and tending to alienate the affections of Her Majesty's good subjects, and to create jealousies and divisions among them. It was resolved, likewise, for his offence in writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious libels, that he be *expelled the House.*

Steele, therefore, ceased to be a member of the House of Commons; but his importance among the Whig leaders was so increased, that the Duke of Marlborough furnished him with his family papers with a view to prepare a biography, which Steele announced.

He also started two new publications, the *Spinster* and the *Reader*, and remained a thorn in the side of the Tory government till the Queen's death.

Steele and Walpole were jointly concerned in several political publications; indeed their intense hostility to the friends of Atterbury was notorious.

Some idea of the animosity with which the conflict was carried on may be gathered from Steele's "Apology."*

Mainwaring, the pupil of Dr. Smalridge, gained the favour of Charles Montagu, who got him the lucrative appointment of Commissioner of Customs, which presently procured him commendation in some verses entitled "The Petition of the Distressed Merchants to the Lord High Treasurer against the Commissioners of the Customs:"—

> From Godolphin, that wasp whose talent is notion,
> From snarling tool Clarke, at the other's devotion,
> From republican Ben, the old clergy-teaser,
> Whose true Christian name you must know 's Ebenezer,
> From the flatt'ring false Henley, who sneaks to Church party,
> And for but half salary vows to be hearty,
> From fearful proud Newport, who spits out his curses,
> From the bully Culliford, and the rogues that he nurses—
> From so motley a crew, so imperious a board,
> Deliver this labouring country, good Lord!
> And thy staff shall like Hercules' club be adored.
> But that no grain of merit fall by this petition,
> Leave Mainwaring only to grace the commission.

With the Whig leaders his qualifications, social and intellectual, must have very strongly recommended him. In an age when corruption was general, his refusal of a bribe of fifty guineas to secure a

* Steele's "Apology for Himself and His Writings," occasioned by his expulsion from the House of Commons.

waiter's place for a petitioner was considered superhuman. Lord Godolphin not only secured his entry into Parliament for Preston in 1705, but at a considerable expense to himself secured for him the employment of "Auditor of the Imprests," reputed to be worth two thousand a year. In consequence of these liberal retaining fees, the voice and pen of Mainwaring were entirely at his friend's disposal. After 1710, his patron's opponents were attacked unceasingly in verse and prose; he joined Steele in the *Medley*, and in pamphlets, songs, burlesques, translations, and letters, abused Dr. Sacheverell, the Tory administration, the High Church party, everybody who was not a Whig. His unscrupulousness was seen in his denunciation of his tutor as a Jacobite, and his gallantry in his intimacy with Mrs. Oldfield, the actress, of whom he was passionately fond. He had a son by her.*

The *Medley*, or *Whig Examiner*, was started as a more direct source of counter-attack, and in No. 1, September 14, 1710, Addison again assailed Prior for his severe criticism on Dr. Garth. The opponents had become too angry to do justice to each other's ability. The Whig essayist says:—"I allow he has a happy talent at doggerel, when he writes upon a known subject;" and then maliciously refers to subjects that wherever a purer taste prevails cannot be referred to. He concludes:—"We are now in an age where impudent assertions must pass for argu-

* He was one of the most convivial members of the Kit Kat, and much prized by Walpole, who wrote a spirited defence of him in the *Medley*, when he had been commented on with severity after his death, November 13, 1712.

ments: and I don't question but the same critic who has endeavoured here to prove that he who wrote 'The Dispensary' was no poet, will very suddenly undertake to show that he who gained the battle of Blenheim was no general."

The *Whig Examiner* came to an untimely end after a short reign of five numbers, two of which were devoted to Secretary St. John's letter. In August, 1711, the writers opened fire from another battery —a new enterprise; but that was silenced the next week, and the *Examiner* continued to pour its fire upon the Whigs without intermission. The latter were, however, husbanding their means of offence for a favourable opening, and this came much too soon for the Tories. Literary and political ministers had not time to prepare for a change, which should in their turn throw them out of the chariot. They had sent Prior to Paris to negotiate a peace, and he so far succeeded, that plenipotentiaries had been appointed to meet at Utrecht in January, 1711–12. Prior remained at the French court, where he was joined by Secretary St. John (Bolingbroke), and the treaty went on in a great measure under his management, till, in 1712, it was left entirely to his arrangement, with the authority of ambassador.

Dr. William King is said to have helped Dr. Atterbury in projecting the *Examiner*, and became a political coadjutor of the most thorough-going character, his satirical talent coming out very strong when attacking Dr. White Kennet for preaching a laudatory sermon at the funeral of the Duke of Devonshire. He hated the Whigs most cordially,

which feeling he displayed in 1711 in a poem directed against the Duke of Marlborough, and his principal colleagues. His irregularities and eccentricities defeated the intentions of his best friends to serve him. He was appointed editor of the *Gazette*, but shortly afterwards threw it up, though it might have been a competency for life. He never missed an opportunity of annoying the opponents of Dr. Atterbury, and having sufficiently revenged himself on Dr. Kennet, he mortified the Primate, Dr. Tenison, by causing popular rejoicings to be made at Lambeth for the surrender of Dunkirk, which the Archbishop chose to regard as "an untoward event." This demonstration must have been his last in favour of his friend, or for any political object whatever, for, after a brief illness, he died on Christmas-day, 1712, in a particularly exemplary manner.*

George Granville had commenced his career, as almost all men of good family and superior intelligence began theirs, as an aspirant for poetical distinction. The path was clear and not much up hill, the first step being in the direction of a patron. As a friend of Waller and of Dryden, he secured the best examples, and as he chose to direct his appeal to the legitimate fountain of honour, it might be imagined that he had secured also the highest patronage. He addressed the fountain of honour in these eighteen lines of intense panegyric:—

* That his political writings were far less amusing than his quizzes upon antiquarians, or what were styled "Virtuosi," for whom he wrote such treatises as "The Dentiscalpe, or Toothpick of the Ancients;" "The Plays of the Grecian Boys and Girls;" "A Method to Teach Learned Men how to Write Unintelligibly;" "Jasper Hans Van Sloenburg's Voyage to Cajamai," &c., &c., &c.

TO THE KING.

Heroes of old by rapine and by spoil,
In search of fame did all the world embroil;
This to their Gods each then allied his name,
This sprung from Jove, and that from Titan came.
With equal valour and the same success,
Dread King, might'st thou the Universe oppress;
But Christian laws constrain thy martial pride,
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide.
By thy example Kings are taught to sway,
Heroes to fight, and saints may learn to pray.
From Gods descended and of race divine,
Nestor in council and Ulysses shine;
But in a day of battle all would yield
To the fierce master of the seven-fold shield.
Their very Deities were graced no more,
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore;
But all perfections meet in James alone,
And Britain's King is all the Gods in one.

Surely the force of flattery could no further go applied to most kings; but the poem was addressed to so very ordinary a monarch as James II., whose professions of justice and moderation on ascending the throne had elicited this extravagant acknowledgment. Exaggerated as it was, it was immediately endorsed by Waller in these lines:—

An early plant which such a blossom bears,
And shows a genius far beyond his years,
A judgment that could make so fair a choice,
So high a subject to employ his voice:
Still as it grows, how sweetly will he sing
The growing greatness of our matchless King.

The commendation of the Court poet of the Stuarts appears to have transported his youthful pupil, and, in an answer to the foregoing, he acknowledges the gratification they had afforded him, adding:—

Ages to come shall scorn the powers of old,
When in thy verse of greater Gods they're told;
Our beauteous Queen and Royal James's name,
For Jove and Juno shall be placed by Fame!

Thy Charles for Neptune shall the seas command,
And Saccharissa shall for Venus stand;
Greece shall no longer boast, nor haughty Rome,
But think from Britain all the Gods did come.

The Saccharissa was, as the reader has already been informed, the *nom de plume* of Lady Dorothy Sidney, whom the poet immortalized in verses as sweet as the fanciful appellation. Here also he was an example to Mr. Granville, who thought proper similarly to distinguish the Countess of Newburgh, under the name of "Mira." This, however, is a much more natural proceeding than the future friend of Atterbury and advocate of High Church principles commencing his public career as the most extravagant eulogist of the greatest enemy of Protestantism. He addressed three poems to King James, and was, in consequence, favourably received at Court, particularly by Mary of Modena, whom, several years before, when Duchess of York, he had flattered in a similar style.

Mr. Granville's tragedy, "Heroic Love," was performed in 1696, with a Prologue, written by his friend Henry St. John: it had the further distinction of being warmly eulogized in a poem by John Dryden, that commenced—

Auspicious poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy what I must commend!
But since 'tis Nature's law, in love and wit,
That Youth should reign, and with'ring Age submit,
With less regret those laurels I resign,
Which, dying on my brow, revive on thine.

This, and several other plays and poems, met with a fair share of public favour; but Mr. Granville aspired to move in a larger theatre than the mimic

stage, and entered Parliament in the first year of the reign of Queen Anne. "All the Gods in one" had long since been disposed of; and that opinion of him would not have been listened to in the House of Commons.

His position as the younger son of a younger brother became improved by bequests from kinsmen and the death of his elder brother, Sir Bevil Granville. He, having entered Parliament, joined the Opposition, and in 1710, on the memorable change of ministry, succeeded Robert Walpole as Secretary at War. He was called to the Upper House the following year, as Lord Lansdowne. In 1712 he was appointed Comptroller to the Royal Household; and the same year Pope dedicated to him his "Windsor Forest." He was acknowledged not only as a poet, but as the friend of poets; in truth, was the cordial patron of literary merit, and was much esteemed by Atterbury and all his friends.

In 1713 Lord Lansdowne was appointed Treasurer to the Household, the last office he held during the reign of Queen Anne. To what extent he was compromised in the negotiations that were carried on at the Queen's death, with the view of bringing her half-brother to England, has never been ascertained; but there can be no question that he was opposed to the succession of the Elector of Hanover, and this being well known, caused him to be superseded in the Treasurership by Lord Cholmondely, apparently by the minister whom he had superseded as Secretary at War.

Lord Lansdowne was reputed to possess higher

poetical powers than those he chose to exhibit in his poems and plays, but was too idle to develop them. The Duke of Buckingham, in some negligent verses, thus alludes to this—

> —— yet Lansdowne was named,
> But Apollo with kindness his indolence blamed,
> And said he would choose him, but that he should fear
> An employment of trouble he never could bear.

Much to his credit, his lordship does not appear to have feared trouble for other poets, and gains more honour as the early patron of Pope than he could have lost fame by neglecting his own poetical interests.

For the present the reader must be content to lose sight of his lordship as a literary friend of Atterbury; they were far more closely connected in politics—Lord Lansdowne being both a Tory and a Jacobite.

Much violent opposition to the party with which Atterbury was now closely connected was shown by Robert Molesworth, who had been Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Denmark in the preceding reign, and had published an account of that country, which gained him the friendship of Lord Shaftesbury and other public men of the same politics, by whose influence he got into Parliament, and was made a member of the Privy Council. His partisanship manifested itself so offensively, that in January, 1713, he was removed from the Council, on a complaint made by the Lower House of Convocation, that he had affronted the clergy by asserting that they had turned the world upside down. He was an active colleague of Walpole, in whose support he so distin-

guished himself as to establish a strong claim on his gratitude.

Lord Halifax was impeached by the House of Commons for having advised the King to sign the Partition Treaty, but the Upper House dismissed the articles. When Queen Anne succeeded to the throne, he was dismissed from his post, again impeached by the Commons, and again protected by the Lords. He affected a profound interest in the Church of England, and directed an inquiry into its alleged danger: he also sat as one of the judges on the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, and voted in favour of a mild sentence; but his political views were made sufficiently clear by his moving, in the Upper House, for a writ to summon the Elector to take his place among the Peers, as Duke of Cambridge—a service that did not go unrewarded.*

During his season of power, Lord Halifax was the object of constant dedication in verse and prose, Addison leading the way by styling him

> The noble Montagu,
> For wit, for honour, and for judgment famed.

There were two exceptions, Swift and Pope: the latter went to the other extreme, but waited till his career was over. The character of Bufo more than sufficiently expresses the poet's contempt; the Dean was not quite so bitter in his post mortem notice. He was in no favour with Atterbury, who regarded him as an active ally of Walpole's. Dr. Johnson,

* George I. created him Earl of Halifax, and made him a Knight of the Garter, and First Commissioner of the Treasury—honours he retained a very short time, as he died March 19, 1715.

though he includes him in the English poets, describes him as "an artful and active statesman, employed in balancing parties, contriving expedients, and combating opposition."

In two of the elaborate works of Archdeacon Coxe, the historical student might expect to find frequent references to a distinguished political opponent of the great historical characters, whose careers he has there described. Atterbury was prominent among the adversaries of Marlborough and of Walpole, but the biographer scarcely notices him in his life of the general, and misrepresents him egregiously in his history of the statesman. It appears as if, in undertaking the advocating these *causes célébres*, he was bound to suppress all evidence against his clients. He therefore to a great extent ignores the action of Atterbury in the important events that affected the fortunes of the Whig leaders. Walpole had much to do with him—too much for his fame, as will be shown—and the powerful Churchills will be found to be more than once succumbing to, or acting against, his influence.

The partisan biographer does make one admission of Atterbury's power with the Tory cabinet at the close of the reign of Queen Anne, when he forms an imaginary ministry to carry on the government in the name of James III., in which Sir William Windham is placed as First Lord of the Treasury; Bolingbroke and Bromley as Secretaries of State, with the Earl of Mar Secretary of State for Scotland; the Duke of Ormonde Commander-in-Chief; Lord Harcourt Lord High Chancellor; the Duke of Bucking-

ham Lord President of the Council; the Earl of Strafford First Lord of the Admiralty; and the Bishop of Rochester Privy Seal.* The latter was not likely to have been contented with a post of such little importance.

A story has been put forth that so determined was he to produce a demonstration in favour of the royal exile, that he proposed putting himself at the head of a party of influential Jacobites, and marching to Charing Cross to proclaim their legitimate sovereign. The imaginary Commander-in-Chief may have suggested something of the kind, and the imaginary Privy Seal offered to join the procession; but no trustworthy evidence exists of Atterbury having acted in this manner.

What he did do at the meeting convened by Bolingbroke shortly after the Queen's death, must be left to conjecture. The Jacobites appear to have been unprepared, and before they could agree, the opportunity for effective action had passed.†

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* Coxe's Marlborough, III.

† In Jesse's "Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents," this doubtful anecdote of Bishop Atterbury is all the information respecting him the work contains.

CHAPTER IX.

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Dr. Sprat—Queen Anne makes Atterbury a Bishop—His Visit to Pope's Villa—Dr. Wake—The Bishop of Winchester—Dean Swift's Congratulations—Bishop Atterbury's Letters to Bishop Trelawney—Prior solicits Preferment for a Friend—Bishop Atterbury recommends a Clergyman—Queen Anne's Death—George I. prejudiced against the Bishop of Rochester—He and the Bishop of Bristol refuse to sign the Declaration of some of the Protestant Prelates in 1715—Dr. Wake Archbishop of Canterbury—Ballad on Drs. South and Sherlock—The Bangorean Controversy—Dean Swift to Bishop Atterbury—The Bishop to Sir Jonathan Trelawney—His Letter to Pope respecting Prior—Infant Baptism—Peerage Bill—Dr. Lewis Atterbury's Correspondence with his Brother—The New Dormitory in Westminster School projected by the Bishop.

THE career of Thomas Sprat was a remarkable one. Like several of his contemporaries, lay and clerical, his earliest declaration of opinion took the shape of a poem addressed while a student at Oxford to the Lord Protector,* in which the young versifier ventured to declare—

> Thou sought'st not out of envy, hope, or hate,
> But to refine the Church and State.

* "Poems upon the Death of his late Highnesse Oliver, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; written by Mr. Edw. Waller, Mr. John Dryden, and Mr. Sprat, of Oxford," 1658.

He did not enter into holy orders until after the Restoration, when, to prove how completely he had embraced the new order of things, he became chaplain to Charles II., as well as to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose poetical compositions he revised. He had taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and having been elected a fellow of the Royal Society, wrote a history of that learned body. Court patronage flowed in upon him. He was a prebendary in Westminster in 1668, five years later succeeding to the deanery. In 1683 he had also received a canonry at Windsor.

He gained favour from the King and his brother by drawing up an account of what was styled "The Protestant Plot." James II. rewarded him with the bishopric of Rochester, 1685; then appointed him clerk of the closet, and a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission. His subserviency was notorious; nevertheless, after the flight of the King he wrote a letter to the Earl of Dorset, vindicating his proceedings while connected with the Commission, from which, when its tyranny became most mischievous, he withdrew.

He had helped Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Nathaniel Crew, of Durham, in drawing up a public thanksgiving for the Queen's being pregnant, for which he was irreverently chronicled in a ballad.

Two Toms and a Nat
In council sat,
To rig out a thanksgiving;
And make a pray'r
For a thing in the air,
That's neither dead nor living.

Dr. Sprat did not withdraw his assistance from the King till after the trial of his brother prelates had shown him the temper of the nation. There is nothing surprising in his now joining the stronger party, and assisting them in getting rid of his patron, nor in his being regarded with anything but favour by the new government. In the year 1692 he was taken into custody on suspicion of being concerned in a plot for restoring the abdicated monarch. It was an era of sham conspiracies, and this proved one of them. The Bishop of Rochester having undergone three searching examinations by the Privy Council, the villany of the transaction was revealed, and the prelate liberated; a narrow escape which he annually kept in remembrance as a day of thanksgiving. He professed a warm zeal for the Church of England, and supported Dr. Atterbury in the active demonstrations the latter made in its behalf, but took no prominent part in politics. He was much admired as a preacher, and his sermons frequently reprinted. He died May 20, 1713.

Dr. Warton, who has earned special eminence among the slanderers of Atterbury, avers that "It was with difficulty Queen Anne was persuaded to make Atterbury a bishop, which she did at last on the repeated importunities of Lord Harcourt, who pressed the Queen to do so, because she had before disappointed him in not placing Sacheverell on the bench." There is not a word of truth in the statement. So far from the Queen requiring either pressure or persuasion, there existed the most perfect understanding between the Dean and his royal

mistress, who had seized every available opportunity of showing the high sense Her Majesty entertained of her chaplain's services.

His elevation to the episcopal bench was contemporary with his appointment as Dean of Westminster, and was a source of intense gratification to his numerous friends, literary, clerical, and political.

The new Bishop of Rochester was more than once an honoured visitor at the Twickenham villa. To the mother of Pope he was even more welcome than he was to her son, and seems to have attracted several guests of about his own age, who made the society there extremely agreeable to both. Respecting these the poet wrote :—

> There are certain old people who take up all my time, and will hardly allow me to keep any other company. They were introduced here by a man of their own sort, who has made me perfectly rude to all my contemporaries, and will not so much as suffer me to look upon them. The person I complain of is the Bishop of Rochester.*

Sir Jonathan Trelawney was applied to by the new-made bishop for the benefit of his episcopal experience. Dr. Atterbury appears to have been in such a hurry, that he forgot to alter his signature. It was his old friend who pointed this out. The request, contained in the first of the following notes, was promptly complied with. The Bishop of Rochester was introduced by the Bishop of Winchester on the following day.

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* Pope, to Mr. Digby.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Monday, July 6, 1713.

My Lord,

I just now received the enclosed,* and beg to know of your lordship in what habit I am to be introduced, and in what habit we are to go to St. Paul's afterwards, since the Queen does not go thither. I hope your lordship will do me the honour of introducing me, and add that to the many favours you have already conferred upon, my lord, your ever faithful, obliged, and most humble servant,

FRA. ATTERBURY.†

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Monday, 4 o'clock, July 6, 1713.

My Lord,

I write this only to thank your lordship for putting me in mind of my title, which else in my conscience I should scarce have thought on this day or two. Your lordship may depend upon it that the Queen does not go to St. Paul's to-morrow.‡ However, I will be ready with the scarlet robe at Mr. Battely's, in the cloisters, Westminster, at half an hour before nine to-morrow, and beg your lordship when you come to the bishops' room in the lobby to send for me to you.

I would not have troubled your lordship with a second letter, but that I was willing to acknowledge my old obligations to your lordship under a new name, and upon this occasion *first* to subscribe myself, my lord, your ever faithful and most humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.§

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* The usual summons to Parliament. Dr. Francis Atterbury had been consecrated in the Archiepiscopal Chapel at Lambeth, on the preceding day.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

‡ The following message was delivered to *each* House of Parliament, July 6, 1713:—

"That her Majesty, not having entirely recovered her strength since her last fit of the gout, and being apprehensive that the fatigue of going to St. Paul's Church may be too great, chuses rather to return her thanks to Almighty God for the blessings of peace in her Chapel at St. James's; but desires that this House will proceed to St. Paul's Church, with as much solemnity as if her Majesty was to be in person there." Both Houses of Parliament accordingly attended, and Bishop Hooper preached before them.—W. M.

§ Atterbury Papers.

Among the friends who congratulated him on his preferment was his former neighbour over the way in Church Lane, Chelsea. It is evident that he had not yet got reconciled to his Irish deanery, to which he makes something like a savage reference. He longed to come back and join the pleasant circle from which he had been banished, not probably without ulterior views of profiting by the influence of his exalted friend.

Dr. Tenison and Dr. Wake had been the obedient agents of the Whig government, invariably acting together in the desired direction. The Primate had no higher reward to receive, but his subordinate had every possible inducement to distinguish himself in the eyes of his superiors. He maintained a position of opposition to the party in the Church directed by Dr. Atterbury, and when he had obtained a canonry in Christ Church College, with the living of St. James's, Westminster, as well as held the office of Deputy Clerk of the Closet to King William and Queen Mary, there existed a probability of their being brought into unpleasant relationship. The candidate for honours published, in 1697, his "Defence of the Power of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods, with particular respect to the Convocation of the Clergy and Church of England," and was recompensed with the deanery of Exeter. Dean Wake then wrote his "Vindication of the King's Supremacy against both Popish and Fanatical Opposers of it," which he followed with "The State of the Church and Clergy of England;" and his deanery was supplemented with the bishopric of Lincoln. Both prelates were Whigs in politics.

DEAN SWIFT TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

The Country in Ireland, Aug. 3, 1713.

My Lord,

It was with the greatest pleasure I heard of your lordship's promotion—I mean that particular promotion * which I believe is agreeable to you, though it does not mend your fortune. There is but one other change I could wish you, because I have heard you prefer it before all the rest, and that likewise is now ready; † unless it be thought too soon, and that you are made to wait till another person has used it for a step to cross the water.‡

Though I am here in a way of sinking into utter oblivion, for

Hæ latebræ nec dulces, nec (si mihi credis) amænæ;

yet I shall challenge the continuance of your lordship's favour; and, whenever I come to London, shall with great assurance cross the Park to your lordship's house, at Westminster, as if it were no more than crossing the street at Chelsea. I talked at this threatening rate so often to you above two years past, that you are not now to forget it.

Pray, my lord, do not let your being made a bishop hinder you from cultivating the politer studies, which your heart was set upon when you went to govern Christ Church. Providence has made you successor to a person§ who, though of a much inferior genius, turned all his thoughts that way; and I have been told with great success, by his countenance to those who deserved. I envy Dr. Freind that he has you for his inspector,‖ and I envy you for having such a person in your district, and whom you love so well. Shall not *I* have liberty to be sometimes a third amongst you, though I am an *Irish* dean?

Vervecum in patriâ, crassoque sub aëre natus.

A very disordered head hindered me from writing earlier to your lordship when I first heard of your preferment, and I have

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* To the See of Rochester, the revenue of which was small.

† It was not the See of London (then vacant by the demise of Dr. Henry Compton), but that of Winchester, which Atterbury preferred to any other.—W. M. Winchester was not then vacant.

‡ To Lambeth Palace.

§ Bishop Sprat.

‖ As Dean of Westminster.

reproached myself of ingratitude, when I remembered your kindness in sending me a letter upon the deanery they thought fit to throw me into, to which I am yet a stranger; being forced into the country in one of my old parishes to ride about for a little health. I hope to have the honour of asking your lordship's blessing some time in October. In the mean while, I desire your lordship to believe me to be, &c.*

The feelings inspired by the liberality of the Bishop of Winchester, made Bishop Atterbury anxious to fulfil his slightest request. A pupil, in whom the former felt an interest, appears to have been treated harshly by the second master at Westminster, and had quitted the school, or committed some other breach of discipline. As Dean of Westminster, but more as friend of the Head Master, Atterbury used his interest to expedite the lad's return. The Bishop had, according to Burke, four sons—John, the fourth baronet; Charles, subsequently a prebendary of Westminster; Edward, who lived to be Governor of Jamaica; and Hele, who became a doctor of divinity and rector of Southill and Landreath, Cornwall. "The General," mentioned in the letter, was not the Bishop's brother, Brigadier-General Trelawney, but his son. The writer's subsequent appeal in favour of Mr. Alsop is highly characteristic:—

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Chelsea, September 11, 1713.

I have done my part toward obeying your commands, and, upon an epistle from Wigan, only chid him a little, and then forgave him, and sent him to make his peace with Dr. Freind, who had agreed to receive him upon very easy terms, but thought something was to be done to hinder the example from

* Atterbury Papers.

spreading; especially since Mr. Tollett's* near approaching death will prevent all further examination into this matter. He is ill of an incurable ulcer, and will probably be dead ere this letter reaches your hands; however, he will not be alive long afterwards. When he is gone, I will take care to supply his place with one who shall discharge it with less severity, and be every way better qualified for it, and in whose care of your children (as far as it belongs to him) and kindness for them, your lordship may safely confide.

I will own to your lordship that I intended to have observed a little more formality with Wigan before I admitted him again, but I found by the seal of your letter that it came open to Dr. Henchman, and was not willing he should think that your lordship's desires were in any degree without effect; and therefore immediately and effectually complied with them.

Whenever your lordship returns the General to us, you will find all of us, and me in particular, ready to do our best to serve him. I hope to be at the deanery, Westminster, in three weeks time; and, when I am there, he and his brother shall be as welcome to it and me as my own son. And I protest to your lordship that I value my station so much the more, as it gives me an opportunity of being still in some degree serviceable to your family. I am with all my heart sorry to find by the public prints that Mr. Trelawney is not in at Looe, and still more sorry for the occasion of it. God send that your lordship may meet with a better account of him than you expected.

As soon as I can decently, I will show Wigan, by my usage of him, how much he is beholden to your lordship's interposition.

I need not mention Mr. Alsop to your lordship, because I know your lordship cannot be unmindful of him. However, since I have mentioned him, give me leave to repeat what I have, I think, already said to your lordship, that no man ever came under your roof of more worth or a better nature, or more likely to be every way acceptable to your lordship, if I know anything either of your lordship or him. It is the first and last request of this kind I shall ever make to your lordship, and therefore I urge it the more freely.†

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* Second Master of Westminster School. † Atterbury Papers.

The gentleman for whom Atterbury pleaded so earnestly to the Bishop of Winchester, was Anthony Alsop, an old Westminster, and one of the Christ Church wits, a writer of much humorous Latin verse, M.A. in 1696, B.D. in 1706. Sir Jonathan Trelawney responded to the appeal by making him a prebendary in Winchester Cathedral, and presenting him to the rectory of Brightwell, Berks. He is referred to by Pope in the lines:—

> Nor wert thou, Isis, wanting to the day,
> Tho' Christ Church long kept prudently away.

The poet also makes Bentley say, with reference to him:—

> Let Freind affect to speak as Terence spoke,
> And Horace never but like Horace joke.

He was an excellent scholar, as well as a most amusing humorist.*

The warrant mentioned in the next communication, was an authority to supply the person in whose favour it was granted, with one or more bucks from Farnham Park, where there was a fine herd of deer. Whenever the Bishop of Rochester wanted venison to feast his ecclesiastical or other friends, he had only to apply to his right reverend brother of Winchester, and an ample supply was provided. As Atterbury was now a member of the Upper House of Convocation, he was no longer engaged in active controversy. It is evident that he is familiar with the proceedings of the principal ministers of the Queen, Oxford, and Bolingbroke, and Harcourt; indeed it

* His fate resembled that of Atterbury's father, for he was accidentally drowned in a ditch close to his own garden, June 10, 1726.

began to be rumoured that he had powerful interest with them, and that the Queen's esteem for him was so high he might look for the Primacy as soon as it should become vacant.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Westminster, December 19, 1713.

I take this opportunity of returning my hearty thanks to your lordship for the warrant, when I am going to make use of it in order to entertain my brethren of this church, and have for that end enclosed it in this post in a letter to Mr. Alsop. The founder is never forgotten by me on other occasions, and will therefore be very particularly remembered on this. I wish your lordship many happy Christmases and New Years, and all manner of prosperity to your family.

Whiston* is going to print the proceedings in his cause as far as they have hitherto gone, and impudently wrote to Dr. Henchman† for a copy of his pleadings in order to print them. They do not talk of the Queen's coming from Windsor yet awhile. The Lord Treasurer‡ went down thither this day with Lord Bolingbroke in his coach, and they are likely to make the same journey together for three Saturdays more.

The Lord Chancellor desires me particularly to assure your lordship how uneasy he is at his not being at home when your lordship did him the favour more than once of calling upon him. I am to let him know when your lordship returns hither, that he may immediately wait upon you, which he is extremely desirous of doing.§

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* William Whiston, whose peculiar opinions on the Trinity had, in 1711, drawn upon him the censure of Convocation, followed by a prosecution in the spiritual court, where the Bishop of Winchester pressed the judges to determine what was legal heresy. He was supported by many persons of distinction, and, no sentence having been passed upon him, continued nominally in communion with the Church of England. He set up a form of worship of his own. His abilities were of a very high order, but his heterodox ideas stood in the way of their being properly appreciated. He joined the Baptists in 1747, and survived till 1752. Mr. Whiston published numerous works, scientific as well as theological.

† An able civilian.—W. M.

‡ Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

§ Atterbury Papers.

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Westminster, February 13, 1713-14.

My Lord,

The return* which accompanies this should have been made to your lordship earlier, but we were at a loss for a precedent; and should have made no return, had not the Archbishop† told me yesterday that he insisted upon it. I send this messenger over therefore express to your lordship, that your lordship may have time to notify the persons (mentioned in the return) to his grace before the meeting on Tuesday. I shall not be there, being obliged, as junior bishop, to attend the House of Lords that morning.

Matthew Prior, the poet, was now head of the British Embassy in Paris. It is worthy of remark, that while expressing his felicitations, he takes the opportunity of attempting a little patronage, relying on the good nature of his "dear schoolfellow."

MATTHEW PRIOR TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Paris, March $\frac{12}{23}$, 1713-14.

My Lord,

At the same time that I congratulate your accession to the House of Lords, and your being in power to continue your zeal for the church and your services to the nation, I take leave to recommend a private charity to you, that you would take Henry Geast (of whose parts and learning Dr. Freind will give your lordship an account) to our well-beloved college of Christ Church. This is mortification enough for a Cambridge man to ask; but I persuade myself Dr. Atterbury will not deny my request.

I am, with great respect, my good lord and dear schoolfellow, &c.

To deserving members of his profession, Bishop Atterbury was ever ready to use his influence with those who possessed patronage. To the benevolent

* Of members for the Convocation. † Tenison.

Trelawney he had never appealed in vain, and the result of his application in this instance showed that his recommendation was all sufficient; the Head Master of Westminster was as anxious as himself for his success, and their protégé, as may readily be imagined, was an "old Westminster."

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Westminster, January 29, 1714–15.

My honoured Lord,

Almost ever since I received your lordship's obliging letter I have been afflicted with the gout, which confines me still; but I am now well enough to acknowledge your lordship's favour, and to return my thanks for it, as I do very heartily. However, I have not done troubling your lordship with my requests. A clergyman, whose name is Lloyd, and whom I know to be a worthy good man, has a presentation to a living in your lordship's diocese, the name of which I think is Chawton, and the place about eight or ten miles from Farnham. He tells me your lordship has left no commission for institution behind you, that it is to the utmost degree inconvenient to him to attend your lordship at Trelawn, and that he fears the six months may run out before your lordship's return. He humbly hopes that your lordship will take no advantage of the lapse; and I must confess I thought his request so reasonable that I promised him to convey it to your lordship, and to add mine to it if there was any occasion for such an addition towards making it effectual.

I wish your lordship and your family health and all manner of happiness, and am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Westminster, February 13, 1714-15.

My honoured Lord,

I committed a mistake in my last, and made but half my request to your lordship in behalf of the good man who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your lordship at

* Atterbury Papers.

Winchester. He wants not only leave from your lordship to defer his institution for awhile, but your lordship's letter also, intimating to the Archbishop your consent to his holding Chawton in your lordship's diocese, together with another living within three-and-twenty miles of it, in Berkshire, of about an hundred pounds a year. Kidbury is the name of it.

Mr. Lloyd is really a pious and deserving man, and one whose character will not disgrace your lordship if you please to signify to the Archbishop your consent in his behalf, which I earnestly beg of your lordship to do, and by that means to complete the favour which your lordship intends me in this whole matter. He has a wife and many children, and both these livings will yield but a bare comfortable support to his numerous family.

I communicated to Doctor Freind that part of your lordship's letter which related to him, who will take the same opportunity that I do of returning his thanks to your lordship, and of adding his request to mine in behalf of Mr. Lloyd, being equally with me concerned for his success. The General and Hele are now with me, and send their duty to your lordship.

I am, &c.

I am still confined to my chamber.*

Queen Anne lay in so critical a state that the Court physicians sent for Dr. Mead. He was introduced to the royal patient, and at the consultation that followed declared her case to be hopeless, and that her dissolution might be daily expected. In this opinion the doctors in attendance did not coincide, but finding his friend Dr. Radcliffe was absent from indisposition, Mead hurried from the palace to his house in Bloomsbury Square, and warned him of the Queen's danger. It has been stated that he recommended that a description of Her Majesty's symptoms should be immediately forwarded to Hanover, under the conviction

* Atterbury Papers.

that the medical men there would be able to satisfy the Elector that death must have taken place before the arrival of the communication.

All prospect of further elevation in the Church faded on the demise of Bishop Atterbury's royal patroness. His friends in office disappeared, several fled the country, and St. James's became filled with his personal enemies. In the performance of his episcopal duty the Bishop of Rochester had to assist in the coronation of the German prince whom the intrigues of a powerful party at once established as Queen Anne's successor. The prelate was entitled to the throne and canopy as his perquisites, but indicated his loyalty by placing them at the disposal of the new sovereign. The royal mind had been carefully prejudiced against him, and the courtesy was rudely rejected. Whatever may have been his feelings towards George I. before this, they were not likely to have been rendered more cordial by so obvious an affront. It was only the supporters of the Protestant succession. who were considered worthy of royal favour.

In the year 1711 Dr. Garth had brought out an edition of "Lucretius," with a dedication to George the Elector of Hanover. On the accession of the Elector to the throne of Great Britain, the Doctor had the honour of being knighted with the Duke of Marlborough's sword, as well as appointed physician to the King and physician-general to the forces. Though these duties must have greatly increased his professional labours, Sir Samuel found time for the Muses as well as for the classics.

The Bishop displayed his political feeling about the critical year 1715, in a manner that was far from improving his relations with the Court. There was a contested election in Westminster for the post of high steward, in the room of the expatriated Duke of Ormonde. The votes were equal for the Duke's brother, Lord Arran, and the Duke of Newcastle. The Dean made a powerful speech in favour of the near relative of the distinguished Jacobite leader, and voted against the Court candidate.

At the breaking out of the rebellion in this year, a declaration of confidence in the Government was drawn up and signed by the Primate and a few other prelates then residing in or near the metropolis. Bishop Atterbury objected to it, apparently on the same principle that had led the seven bishops to decline signing an approval of the measures of James II. It contained a passage that cast improper reflections on the political party with which Dr. Atterbury was connected, and in other respects bore the aspect of a Whig demonstration. The article most objected to was—

> We are the more concerned that both the clergy and people of our communion should show themselves hearty friends to the Government on this occasion, *to vindicate the honour of the Church of England*, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from *discontents artificially raised amongst us*, and because some who have valued themselves and been too much valued by others for *a pretended zeal*, have joined with Papists in these wicked attempts, which, as they must ruin the Church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.

This passage looked very much like a trap in which

the High Churchmen were to be caught. If they gave their signatures to it, they signed their own condemnation; if they withheld them, they might be accused of disloyalty to the Crown. The Bishop of Rochester took counsel with the Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Smalridge), and both refused to stigmatize their friends as concealed enemies of the Church; exciting the intense indignation of the promoters of the declaration, as well as the anger of the Whig ministers.

Dr. Smalridge was the first who was made to suffer for this act of independence, his post of King's Almoner being immediately taken away; but the Princess of Wales continued the regard Her Royal Highness had shown him, and he retired to Christ Church College, of which, two years before, he had become Dean since the resignation of Dr. Atterbury, for whom his affection continued unabated till his death, 27th September, 1719.

In the House of Peers, Bishop Wake was equally active in a service he had found so profitable, advancing as far as he was able all the Government measures that affected religion. His labours received the recompense he had looked for: on the demise of the Primate, in January, 1715-16, Dr. Wake became Archbishop of Canterbury. Walpole and his colleagues knew that it was impossible for them to place at the head of the Anglican establishment a prelate on whom they could so well rely as a supporter of their policy.

Dr. Robert South had preceded Atterbury at Westminster School and Christ Church by about thirty years, nevertheless his junior, for whom he enter-

tained a sincere esteem, was appointed to a bishopric he had declined, on the plea "that such a chair would be too uneasy for an infirm old man to sit in, and he held himself much better satisfied with living on the eavesdroppings of the Church than to fare sumptuously by being placed at the pinnacle of it." Their friendship continued to the close of Dr. South's useful and honourable ministry. He also had commenced his career by writing Latin verses in honour of Cromwell; he also subsequently became chaplain to Charles II., as well as to James Duke of York. Dr. South had refused to sign the invitation to the Prince of Orange, but did not support James II. He subsequently distinguished himself in the great controversy with Dr. Sherlock on the Trinity.

These distinguished divines are described as the Prebendary and Dean, in a ballad much quoted at the time, though obnoxious for its improper treatment of a subject that ought to have been too sacred for ridicule. It should be remembered that Dr. Burnet, Master of the Charter House, during the controversy had published a paper called "Archæologia," &c., something in the spirit of Bishop Colenso. This appears to have provoked the ballad—

A Dean and a Prebendary,
Had once a new vagary,
And were at doubtful strife, sir,
Who led the better life, sir,
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

The Dean he said that truly,
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, sir,
That he had the most grace, sir,
And so the fight began,
And so the fight began.

When Preb. replied like thunder,
And roar'd out—'Twas no wonder,
Since Gods the Dean had three, sir,
And more by two than he, sir,
For he had got but one,
For he had got but one.'

Now while these two were raging,
And in dispute engaging,
The Master of the Charter
Said both had caught a Tartar,
For Gods, sir, there was none,
For Gods, sir, there was none.

That all the books of Moses
Were nothing but supposes;
That he deserved rebuke, sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, sir;
'Twas nothing but a sham,
'Twas nothing but a sham.

That, as for Father Adam,
With Mrs. Eve, his madam,
And what the serpent spoke, sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, sir,
And well-invented flam,
And well-invented flam!

Thus in this battle royal,
As none would take denial,
The dame for which they strove, sir,
Could neither of them love, sir,
Since all had given offence,
Since all had given offence.

She, therefore, slyly waiting,
Left all three fools a-prating;
And, being in a fright, sir,
Religion took her flight, sir,
And ne'er was heard of more,
And ne'er was heard of more!

As South and Sherlock are still deservedly held in estimation as writers on Anglican Divinity, the conclusion of the indecorous versifier must go for what it is worth. The former, as Prebendary of Westminster, was in frequent communication with the Dean; and when he died, July 8, 1716, the entire Chapter, with the school and its masters, attended

his funeral, Bishop Atterbury preaching the funeral sermon, and Dr. Freind* writing the epitaph.

The year 1717 was made memorable in the annals of the Church of England, as that of a long and fierce dispute, which originated in a sermon preached before George I. by the Bishop of Bangor, on the Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ (St. John, xviii. 36) upon which Dr. Snape, Bishop Nicolson, and Dr. White Kennet published certain angry commentaries. The various pamphlets, letters, and advertisements which this sermon called forth, made it the subject of general conversation, and the Bangorian controversy was carried on in the clubs and coffee-houses with quite as much animation as in the press.

Bishop Atterbury, though not indifferent to the argument, it may be presumed had had enough of Dr. Hoadly. More congenial employment was absorbing his attention, and he never wanted for pleasant society or agreeable correspondents. Dean Swift had returned to his "dearly beloved Roger," and his sometimes empty cathedral; but his heart was in the scene of his social pleasures and his political

* Dr. Robert Freind was six years at Westminster School, under Dr. Busby (1680-6), and then proceeded to Christ Church College. At Oxford he distinguished himself by the composition of complimentary verses to King William and Queen Mary—a sure passport to favour. He also joined the Christ Church wits in their attacks upon Dr. Bentley. He prepared himself for the Church, but having much success as a tutor, returned to his old school, where he accepted the place of Second Master, in the year 1699, and in 1711 succeeded as Head Master. His intimacy with Dr. Atterbury continued to be very close as long as the latter remained in a position of influence, but, like his brother, he accommodated his opinions to the ruling powers after the Bishop's downfall, and received his reward in valuable preferments. He gave up his position in the school in 1733; he had previously been appointed a prebendary in the Minster in 1731, and a Canon of Windsor in 1729.

importance. He addressed the Bishop of Rochester respecting a rumour of his having abandoned his old principles—this is by way of introduction to a complaint of his unhappy position with his Chapter, and the injustice he is obliged to endure from those who are not sufficiently acquainted with his merit:—

DEAN SWIFT TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Dublin, July 18, 1717.

My Lord,

Some persons of distinction, lately come from England and not unknown to your lordship, have made me extremely pleased and proud by tellling me that your lordship was so generous as to defend me against an idle story that passed in relation to a letter of mine to the Archbishop of Dublin.* I have corresponded for many years with his Grace, though we generally differed in politics; and therefore our letters had often a good mixture of controversy. I confess likewise that I have been his Grace's advocate when he had not many others. About nine months ago I wrote a letter to him in London (for in my little station it is convenient there should be some commerce between us), and, in a short time after, I had notice from several friends that a passage in my letter was shown to several persons, and a consequence drawn from thence that I was wholly gone over to other principles more in fashion, and wherein I might better find my account. I neglected this report as thinking it might soon die, but found it gathered strength, and spread to Oxford and this kingdom; and some gentlemen, who lately arrived here, assured me they had met it an hundred times with all the circumstances of disadvantage that are usually tacked to such stories by the great candour of mankind. It should seem as if I were somebody of importance; and, if so, I should think the wishes not only of my friends, but of my party, might dispose them rather to believe me innocent than condemn me unheard. Upon the first intelligence I had of this affair, I made a shift to recollect the only passage in that letter which could be any way liable to misinterpretation. I told the Arch-

* Dr. William King—not the facetious Dr. William King.

bishop "that we had an account of a set of people in London who were erecting a new church upon the maxim that everything was void since the Revolution in the Church as well as the State—that all priests must be re-ordained, bishops again consecrated, and in like manner of the rest—that I knew not what there was in it of truth—that it was impossible such a scheme should ever pass—and that I believed if the Court upon this occasion would show some goodwill to the Church, discourage those who ill-treated the clergy, &c., it would be the most popular thing they could think of." I keep no copies of letters; but this, I am confident, was the substance of what I wrote, and that every other line in the letter, which mentioned public affairs, would have atoned for this if it had been a crime, as I think it was not in that juncture, whatever may be my opinion at present; for I confess my thoughts change every week, like those of a man in an incurable consumption, who daily finds himself more and more decay.

The trouble I now give your lordship is an ill return to your goodness in defending me, but it is the usual reward of goodness, and therefore you must be content. In the meantime, I am in an hopeful situation, torn to pieces by pamphleteers and libellers on that side the water, and by the whole body of the ruling party on this, against which all the obscurity I live in will not defend me. Since I came last to this kingdom, it hath been the constant advice of all my Church friends that I should be more cautious. To oppose me in everything relating to my station is made a merit in my Chapter; and I shall probably live to make some bishops as poor as Luther made many rich.

I profess to your lordship that what I have been writing is only with regard to the good opinion of your lordship and of a very few others, with whom you will think it of any consequence to an honest man that he should be set right. I am sorry that those who call themselves Churchmen should be industrious to have it thought that their number is lessened, even by so inconsiderable an one as myself. But I am sufficiently recompensed that your lordship knows me best, to whom I am so ambitious to be best known. God be thanked! I have but a few to satisfy. The bulk of my censurers are strangers, or ill judges, or worse than either; and, if they will not obey your orders to correct

their sentiments of me, they will meet their punishment in your lordship's disapprobation, which I would not incur for all their good words put together and printed in twelve volumes folio.—I am, &c.*

Sir Jonathan Trelawney was had recourse to again in obedience to an appeal that had been made to Bishop Atterbury by a connection of one of his subordinates. The Bishop's second letter details the tactics of Archbishop Wake to silence Convocation. The Primate evidently designed carrying ecclesiastical affairs with a very high hand:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Westminster, November 2, 1717.

My honoured Lord,

I am going to do what I never before did, and I hope never shall do again, to write to your lordship about something that I have nothing to do with, and that your lordship perhaps will have nothing to do with; or, if you think fit to concern yourself, are probably already engaged. And yet the application to me is by such hands that, as great an absurdity as I am going to commit, I know not how to refuse it.

I am desired, my lord, to recommend to your lordship Mr. Sprat (the son of my Dean of Rochester,† but no ways like his father) for the Stewardship of the Courts of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. Since I am pressed to say something and cannot avoid it, I must do him so much justice as to assure your lordship that he is a man of a very fair character and of repute in his profession, and in my conscience every way worthy of the place he desires. If my saying this to your lordship can be of any service to him, I shall be glad of it; if it cannot, permit me to beg your lordship's pardon for this impertinence, and under my hand to declare that I will never be guilty of the like again.—I am, &c.‡

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Bromley, November 8, 1717.

My honoured Lord,

It was worth my venturing to interpose in Mr. Pratt's

* Atterbury Papers. † The Rev. Thomas Sprat. ‡ Atterbury Papers.

affair, since it has given me a proof that my requests, even when they are impertinent and improper, yet are not unwelcome to your lordship.

The Archbishop was of opinion that he should be permitted to hold the Convocation, and told the Prolocutor* (from whom I heard it) that he would adjourn it to-morrow till the 22nd, and from thence by like intermissions till Christmas; after which the clergy should meet and act. But, when I was last in town, I found from good hands that he was as much mistaken on this occasion as he has been on many others; it being resolved in a great council last week at Hampton Court to prorogue the Convocation by a new Royal writ till February next.† That step, and the turning Sherlock and Snape‡ out of the Chaplainship, will enable your lordship to guess how far the Bishop of Bangor§ is likely to be countenanced and supported. Indeed, my lord, these are very extraordinary steps, the effects of wisdom, no doubt; but of so deep a wisdom that I, for my part, am not able to fathom it.

The Parliament will certainly sit at or about the time prefixed; and then I suppose I shall have an opportunity of waiting upon your lordship at Chelsea.—I am, &c.||

Bishop Atterbury's admiration of the best works of his old schoolfellow, Matthew Prior, has already been noticed. The following offers a pleasing evidence of his literary judgment:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Deanery, New Year's Day, 1717-18.

I make you a better present than any man in England receives this day, two poems,¶ composed by a friend of mine,

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* Dr. George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury. Vicar of the parishes of Lewisham and Deptford, in the diocese of Rochester.

† It was prorogued to the 24th of that month.—W. M.

‡ Dr. Sherlock was at that time Dean of Chichester, and Dr. Snape the Head Master of Eton School; they had been dismissed by the Lord Chamberlain from being Chaplains in Ordinary to the King.—W. M.

§ Dr. Benjamin Hoadly.—W. M.

|| Atterbury Papers.

¶ The "Solomon" and "Alma" of Prior?

with that extraordinary genius and spirit which attend him equally in whatever he says, does, or writes. I do not ask your approbation of them. Deny it if you can, or if you dare. The whole world will be against you; and should you, therefore, be so unfortunate in your judgment, you will, I dare say, be so wise and modest as to conceal it. For, though it be a very good character, and what belongs to the first pen in the world—to write like nobody—yet to judge like nobody has never yet been esteemed a perfection.

When you have read them, let me see you at my house, or else you are in danger, lame as I am, of seeing me at yours. And the difference in that case is, that whenever you have me there in my present condition you cannot easily get rid of me; whereas, if you come hither, you may leave me as soon as you please; and I have no way to help myself, being confined to my chair, just as I was when you saw me last. If this advantage will not tempt you rather to make than receive the visit, nothing else will.

Whether I see you or not, let me at least see something under your hand that may tell me how you do, and whether your deafness continues. And, if you will flatter me agreeably, let something be said, at the end of your letter, which may make me for two minutes believe you are half as much mine as I am, &c.*

At this period, and long afterwards, certain services of the Anglican Church were performed in a manner and under circumstances that shocked the feelings of earnest Christians. The most flagrant abuse was that of infant baptism, which was generally administered in private houses, with very little appearance of a sacred rite. Bishop Atterbury, like a good Churchman, set his face against the practice, as may be seen in the following note. The reference to Dr. Sherlock, in connection with this important subject, increases the interest of the communication:—

* Atterbury Papers.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO DEAN STANHOPE.

Bromley, Sunday Noon, January 1, 1718-19.

Mr. Dean,

It is high time that Mr. Archer should be licensed; and I wish I had an opportunity of discoursing him and Mr. Sherlock for half an hour about the methods of restoring the use of public baptisms in *all* cases but *that* mentioned in the rubric. My mind is much bent upon it, and I wish also I had your opinion and assistance in the matter.

I shall be here till Wednesday morning, and should be glad to see them any afternoon; or, if they had rather come to Westminster, let me know some time beforehand, and I will be free from other company. I wrote to you on this head to Canterbury, I think, about three months ago. I desire you will quicken them that there may be no further delay; and am, &c.*

DEAN STANHOPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Lewisham, January 13, 1718-19.

My Lord,

Mr. Sherlock and Mr. Archer had waited on you sooner, but that the former was confined for two or three weeks with a complaint in one of his eyes. They both desired to wait on you at Bromley, hoping to find you more at leisure there; and I will contrive, if possible, to send them to-morrow or Tuesday. I can very truly say that I am in no degree the occasion of this delay, and would now wait on your lordship with them, were it not my misfortune to be confined by illness. The *private baptisms* I have long discouraged, and, by Mr. Sherlock's help, brought so many to church, that for several years past I may venture to say, the number of those *at home* in my time bear no proportion to what used to be in that of my predecessor at Deptford. Those at Lewisham, I believe, are scarce one in three months, nor have been a long time; and of them the great distance from the church is generally the inducement for allowing it. But I shall be highly content with your lordship's express prohibition to indulge the liberty, which creates much trouble, and turns to little advantage. And, had I not at first been countenanced by my superiors, I had resisted this practice

* Atterbury Papers.

from the beginning, and am perfectly willing to do it now. But I will trouble your lordship no longer than to profess myself, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO DEAN STANHOPE.

Westminster, January 18, 1718–19.

Good Mr. Dean,

I am perfectly satisfied by your letter, and by what Mr. Sherlock has said to me, that all care will be taken (as I find a great deal has been already) to bring all the children to be baptized at church who are not really in danger of death.

I thank you heartily for what you have done, and shall do further, in this matter; and having your kind assistance towards making things perfectly regular at Deptford, doubt not but, by God's blessing, I shall be able to effect what I purpose in all other parts of my diocese, as I have done it in several already.

Mr. Sherlock desired something under my hand that he might show to those who pressed him to give private baptism to their children. I told him if the addition of the particular clause to that purpose, which I now insert in every licence, were not sufficient, I would do in that kind whatever he should desire. Should you happen to come to town before I return to Bromley, I will adjust that matter with you.

I know your bringing things to bear at Deptford will be of great influence towards my succeeding in the attempt everywhere else, and therefore I press this point so earnestly upon you. You have always had worthy good men for your curates, and, in my opinion, never had better than now; and their zeal and firmness in the case will make everything easy, both to you and me.—I am, &c.†

Sir Jonathan Trelawney acted in all political and ecclesiastical matters in union with his able brother on the episcopal bench, who continued to forward information for his guidance. The measures to which Bishop Atterbury now directs his friend's attention were of paramount importance.

* Atterbury Papers. † *Ibid.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Bromley, December 2, 1719.

My honoured Lord,

This will meet you perhaps by the time you arrive at Farnham; and you may, probably before that, have heard that the Peerage Bill has already received a check in the House of Commons. The Court laboured to have it read a second time on Friday next; but, upon a division, 203 carried it against 158 for Tuesday, which will give the country gentlemen who are against the bill, and who are now remarkably absent, an opportunity of attending and opposing it; so that the fate of that bill, I take it, is doubtful.

Till it is over, no other bill of consequence will, I suppose, be moved; but after that there are expectations of a bill to regulate the Universities, which, I need not say, will deserve your lordship's attendance, though perhaps it may not come in before the holydays. If it does, or anything else of immediate importance appears, your lordship shall be advertised of it.

I am afraid your lordship has no ground to stand upon in relation to the Archdeaconry of Surrey;* as, unkind as the usage may be, it is legal.—I am, &c.†

The Rector of Middleton Keynes had occasionally made journeys to London; sometimes to publish a sermon, sometimes to institute a lawsuit. On one occasion, as he was returning home, he imprudently attempted to pass a flood that had inundated part of the village, was swept into deep water, and drowned near his own house. This had occurred on the 7th of December, 1693. His eldest son, Dr. Lewis Atterbury, in the year 1719, had been collated by the Bishop of London (Dr. Robinson) to the rectory of the united parishes of Hornsey and

* Then vacant by the promotion of Dr. Hugh Boulter to the see of Bristol.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

Sheperton (that includes Highgate), in which he had so long been officiating. He had commenced legal proceedings against his brother, with the object of setting aside his father's testamentary disposition of his property; nevertheless he now sought preferment in the Bishop's gift. The latter was, however, not disposed to have his elder brother, with whose intractable disposition he was familiar, subordinate to him. It will be seen that Dr. Lewis Atterbury could not appreciate the objections to so desirable an appointment.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO HIS BROTHER.*

Bromley, Wednesday, April, 1710.

Dear Brother,

Your letter, directed to Westminster, found me here this morning. I hope to be at Westminster to-morrow. In the meantime you may assure yourself of anything that is in my disposal. At present the gentleman† you mention is well, and likely to continue so. His distemper is the same as mine, though he has it in a worse degree. However, he is sixteen or seventeen years younger than I am, and may probably therefore outlive me. When he was in danger of late, the first person I thought of was you. But there are objections against that, in point of decency, which I own stick with me; and which, after

* Lewis Atterbury, D.C.L., rector of the parishes of Hornsey and Sheperton, in the county of Middlesex. He was the elder and only brother of the Bishop. There was never any perfect concord between the two brothers, the elder having endeavoured to set aside their father's will (under which some immediate landed provision was made for the younger son, and a contingent interest in the whole), on a cavil that it was not signed and sealed *in the presence* of the three subscribing witnesses, although declared by the testator to be *his* signature and seal *at the time of their attestation*. It was, however, after some delay and legal process, ultimately established.—W. M.

† The Reverend Thomas Sprat, M.A., Archdeacon of Rochester. He was the only son of Bishop Sprat, the immediate predecessor of Atterbury in the see of Rochester. He died May 10, 1720.—W. M.

I have laid them before you, you shall allow, or overrule as you think fit. It had been a much properer post for my nephew,* if God had pleased to spare his life. You need not mention anything of this kind to me; for, you may depend upon it, you are never out of the thoughts of your ever affectionate brother,

FRA. ROFFEN.†

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE SAME.

Deanery, Tuesday Night, May, 1720.

Dear Brother,

I hope you have considered the matter of the Archdeaconry, and do at last see it in the same light that I do. I protest to you I cannot help thinking it the most unseemly thing in the world, and I am very sure the generality of those whose opinions I regard will be of that opinion. I was so far from apprehending that such a station under me would be in the least welcome to you that I discoursed of it, and proposed it, to another person some time ago; and am entered very far into engagements on that head; and, had you not written to me, I do frankly own that I should never have spoken a word to you about it. Believe me when I tell you that this is a plain state of the fact; and, should you at last come to be of my opinion, I dare say you will not at long run think yourself mistaken. I am sure I shall not be at ease till you are in some good dignity in the Church; such as you and I and all the world shall agree is every way proper for you.

I am, &c.‡

DR. LEWIS ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP.

May, 1720.

Dear Brother,

It is reported that the Archdeacon of Rochester is dead, and I have sent my servant to inform me whether it is so or not. I have since considered all that you said to me yesterday; and, both from reason and matter of fact, still am of opinion that there can be no just matter of exception taken. I

* The Rev. Bedingfield Atterbury, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, who died December 27, 1718.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers. ‡ *Ibid.*

shall only lay down two or three instances which lie uppermost in my thoughts. Your lordship very well knows that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a brother for his archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father was a Puisne Judge when he was Lord Chancellor. And thus, in the Sacred History, did God himself appoint that the safety and advancement of the patriarchs should be procured by their younger brother; and that they, with their father, should live under the protection and government of Joseph. I instance those obvious examples only to let your lordship see that I have canvassed these matters in my own thoughts; and I see no reason but to depend on your kind intentions, intimated in your former letter to your most affectionate brother and humble servant.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO HIS BROTHER.

May 20, 1720.

Dear Brother,

The person, to whom I told you I had gone very far towards engaging myself for the archdeaconry, was Dr. Brydges,† the Duke of Chandos's brother, and him I am this day going to collate to it. I hope you are convinced, by what I have said and written, that nothing could have been more improper than the placing you in that post, immediately under myself. Could I have been easy under that thought, you may be sure no man living should have had the preference to you.—I am, &c. ‡

DR. LEWIS ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP.

May, 1720.

I am obliged to you for the favour of your last, and more particularly for giving me a reason for your disposal of the archdeaconry and prebend annexed, when you was not obliged to give any reason at all. I cannot yet imagine what indecency there can be to have raised your elder brother in place under

* Atterbury Papers.

† The Hon. Henry Brydges, D.D., Rector of Amersham, in Buckinghamshire; a man of great piety and amiableness of disposition. He was second son of James Brydges, eighth Baron Chandos, and only brother of the first Duke of that family.—W. M.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

you, which doth not bear more hard supposing the person to be the brother of a Duke. There is some show of reason, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none for the not giving it. And since your lordship was pleased to signify to me that I should overrule you in this matter, I confess it was some disappointment to me; though, since you did not think fit to bestow it on me, I think you have given it to one of the most deserving persons I know of, who will add more to the honour of the place than I could have received from it. I hope I shall be content with that meaner post in which I am; my time, at longest, being but short in this world,* and my health not suffering me to make those necessary applications others do. Nor do I understand the language of the present times; for I find I begin to grow an old-fashioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight and value of words which in our times rise and fall like stock. I did not think that Dr. Brydges would have taken up with an archdeaconry, when his brother can make him a bishop when he pleases; though, had your lordship put me into that post, I should not have endeavoured to have overruled you a second time.—I am, &c.†

As Dean of Westminster, Dr. Atterbury was still in a manner connected with the neighbouring educational establishment, and ready to employ all his influence in its favour. The building was ancient, and the accommodation it afforded its numerous pupils restricted. Modern schoolboys would shudder at the comfortless style in which the sons of the first men in the kingdom were forced to live. Dr. Busby was famed for anything rather than indulgence to his pupils, and those of Dr. Freind had to rough it much in the same manner. The sleeping accommodation was scarcely that of an ordinary barrack, all the boys having their beds arranged in a large ruinous chamber, the granary of the good Benedictines of

* He was alive eleven years afterwards.—W. M.

† Atterbury Papers.

St. Peter. A grateful old Westminster, one of Queen Anne's physicians, Sir Edward Hannes, had borne in mind the miserable manner in which he and his scholastic contemporaries had had to pass the night, and by will, dated 1703, left the munificent sum of a thousand pounds for the erection of a proper dormitory for the school. This intention does not appear to have been acted upon, as it was found that the expense of the necessary alterations would far exceed the sum provided by the testator.

The Dean and the Head Master were frequently in consultation on the subject with other old Westminsters who maintained an interest in the place, but the times were unpropitious for advancing local objects. A foreigner was on the throne, who was said to be monopolized by Hanoverian mistresses and Hanoverian counsellors; and his English ministers, in their intense hostility to Atterbury and Freind, were likely to thwart any scheme for the improvement of the great public school in which they might be actively concerned. Nevertheless, after due deliberation, it was thought advisable to appeal to the Royal Family and to the Court, to Parliament, and to the public generally, for a subscription; and on the 8th of December, 1718, the Dean drew up a petition in his own name and that of the Chapter, addressed in the first instance to George I.

The Bishop of Rochester, Dean of Westminster, and the Chapter of the Church humbly represent to your Majesty that Queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory, founded the College of Westminster, which has in all times since been highly favoured by your Majesty's Royal ancestors, and has bred up great numbers of men useful both in Church and State, among whom are

several who have the honour to serve your Majesty in high stations: that the dormitory of the said College is in so ruinous a condition that it must of necessity be forthwith rebuilt; the expense of which building (besides other charges that may thereby be occasioned) will, according to the plan now humbly presented to your Majesty, amount to upwards of five thousand pounds. As a foundation for raising this sum, a legacy has been left by one who was a member of the College; and there is good reason to believe that divers persons of quality, who owe their education to this place, may be disposed to favour the design, if they shall be incited by your Majesty's Royal example. The said Bishop and Chapter, therefore, humbly hope that your Majesty will, as an encouragement to learning, be pleased to bestow your Royal bounty on this occasion in such measure as to your Majesty's high wisdom shall seem proper.

The idea was taken up so cordially by zealous old Westminsters at Court, and by the connections of zealous young Westminsters, there and elsewhere, that the King and the Prince of Wales found themselves constrained to contribute, as "an encouragement to learning." His Majesty forwarded a thousand pounds, the Prince five hundred. Parliament, where there were many warm friends of the school, voted a gift of twelve hundred pounds; and such a stir was made throughout the country on the subject, that funds came in plentifully. Moreover, the Earl of Burlington, then in the zenith of his fame as an amateur architect, contributed a design for the required structure. This was accepted, but years elapsed before the new dormitory was completed.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Monday Evening [May, 1720].*

My honoured Lord,

The cause of the dormitory comes on early, very early,

* So endorsed by Bishop Trelawney.

I believe, on Wednesday morning.* My solicitor apprehends by eight o'clock; by nine, however, the Council will, I think, be gotten some way into it. Your lordship has been pleased to promise that you will countenance it with your presence. I hope you will, and am, &c.

* It was ordered by the Court of Chancery, June 20, 1720, that the intended new dormitory at the College, Westminster, should be erected on the site of the old one. This decree (on an appeal from the Dean and four of the Prebendaries of Westminster) was *reversed* by the House of Lords, May 16, 1721; whereby it was finally determined that the new building should be placed (as it is) in the College garden.

CHAPTER X.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE GEORGIAN ERA.

Lord Chancellor Harcourt consults Atterbury respecting his first Communication to George I.—His Reply—Letter from Lord Bolingbroke—Prior in Custody—The Duchess of Marlborough appeals to the Bishop—The Duke of Ormonde, Atterbury, and Sir William Wyndham—Addison's Marriage—Eustace Budgell—Gay and "The What d'ye Call It"—Is offered the Post of Gentleman Usher to one of the Princesses—Jacobite Pamphlet attributed to Atterbury—The Duchess of Buckingham—Steele rewarded—Death of Prior—Lord Bathurst—The Bishop writes to Pope—Lord Lansdowne in the Tower—Honest Shippen—Pope to Atterbury on the South Sea Bubble—Atterbury to Pope on the Arabian Tales—Atterbury to Bishop Trelawney—His Letters to Pope—Pope's Estimate of Addison in his Epistle to Arbuthnot—Scurrilous Pamphlet—Pope's Villa—"On the Bishop of Rochester's Preaching," by the Duke of Wharton.

As a lawyer and as a statesman Simon Harcourt had won his way to the highest estimation. He had filled with honour the posts of Solicitor and Attorney-General, and Keeper of the Great Seal; and on the 3rd of September, 1711, had been ennobled, with the title of Baron Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. In April of the following year he became Lord High Chancellor. While a leading member in the last administration of Queen Anne, his lordship and Bishop Atterbury were brought into frequent communication; but their intimacy was of

much longer standing, and had been founded on Lord Harcourt's attachment to the Church, of which he gave one proof in his marriage with the daughter of a clergyman (the Rev. Thomas Clarke, M.A.), whose son married Elizabeth, the daughter of that estimable member of the Anglican Establishment, John Evelyn.

The Lord Chancellor seems to have permitted his mind to be influenced by indecision with respect to his conduct towards his new sovereign. His lordship had not hitherto, it is evident, quite reconciled himself to the Elector of Hanover, and writes to the Bishop of Rochester for his advice as to how he ought to address him, having at last made up his mind to write. The shortness of his sentences indicates a hurried manner.

LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Tuesday Even, August 10, 1714.

My Lord,

My neglect of writing* is inexcusable. I doubt it may be justly taken as an affront. I am determined now to do it, late as it is. An ill excuse is worse than none. My station will excuse the presumption. I wish I had your thoughts to-morrow morning in writing: pray send me two lines if I must see you no more. To excuse the neglect, to justify the presumption, and not appear *mean*, under the apprehensions I ought to have of being removed, are matters to be nicely considered.

Your faithful servant,

HARCOURT.

Whatever I write will be certainly shown.†

Whether the Bishop regarded the Lord Chancellor's note as an experiment on his loyalty does not appear; but the frankness of the reply, with its

* To King George I.

† Atterbury Papers.

suggestive conclusion, left no room for doubt on this point. The writer allows nothing to escape him that betrays disinclination to George I. The Protestant succession is admitted as an established fact; all that the politician ventures to state is the propriety of his correspondent writing as the leader of a party, a course his lordship did not follow. He preferred joining the Whigs, who were likely to have the entire direction of the Government; and having done this, he shared their hostility to his present adviser.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT.

Westminster, August 11, 1714.

My Lord,

Had I any reason to think your lordship could want my assistance in anything, I would not stir from the town. But I am far from that vanity. In the present case, I am sure there is no need of me; for my poor opinion is that the more plainly and nakedly, and without reserve, your lordship expresses your mind in that letter, the more welcome it will be.

There is no art requisite towards giving the K[ing] proper assurances that he has not a more faithful subject within his dominions, nor one that desires more to approve himself such by real services; that you thought the best service you could do, at this important juncture, was to make use of any advantage your station might give you towards uniting the hands and hearts of all his subjects, and securing the quiet of his kingdoms.

There is one way of addressing him, indeed, which would require more skill; that is, if your lordship thought fit to write, not merely as a single person, but in some measure as the head of an interest. This I could wish your lordship would do, and would take the steps proper to enable you to do it; but I do not find your lordship so disposed, and therefore am silent on that subject.—I am, &c.*

* Atterbury Papers.

The writer of the next letter had been removed from his post of Secretary of State on the last day of the preceding month, in a fashion intended to mark the Royal displeasure; but George I. was not yet in England. His Majesty landed at Greenwich on the 18th, and the deposed and insulted minister had time to consult with his faithful friend and colleague. Bolingbroke shows that his disgrace affected him less than the collapse of that political influence which had maintained his authority. The change in the current of patronage had drawn off those among his supporters who made it a rule to go with the stream.

VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

September, 1714.

My Lord,

To be removed was neither matter of surprise nor of concern to me; but the *manner* of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes. It is not fit that I should be in town without waiting upon the King when he arrives; and it is less proper that I should wait upon him after what has passed till by my friends some *éclaircissement* has been had with him. I have written to the King, and I have spoken with Monsieur Bothmar, and both I hope in a way becoming me: On Sunday morning I go home, from whence I shall return as I receive advices from hence.

The satisfaction and the advantage of conversing with your lordship are so great, that I shall certainly make use of the opportunity of seeing you which you are so kind as to afford me. About eight to-morrow in the evening I will not fail to be at the Deanery.

I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you that I am not in the least intimidated from any consideration of the Whig malice and power; but the grief of my soul is this: I see plainly that the Tory party is gone. Those who broke from us formerly, continue still to act and speak on the same prin-

ciples and with the same passions. Numbers are still left, and those numbers will be encreased by such as have not their expectations answered. But where are the men of business that will live and draw together? You, my lord, know my thoughts as well as you know your own. Nothing shall tempt or fright me from the pursuit of what I know is right for the Church and nation; but the measures of the pursuit must I fear be altered. Till to-morrow, my lord, adieu.—I am, &c.*

On the 1st of December, 1714, Lord Stair superseded Prior in Paris, and he returned to England the following March, only to find that the day of retribution had arrived, and the Whigs were again in the ascendant. On the 25th he was committed to the custody of a messenger, and brought up for examination before a Secret Committee of the Privy Council on the 1st of April. Of this "wild examination," as he terms it, he has left a report; and he seems to have been badly used. The object of his examination, it presently appeared, was to establish a charge of high treason against the late minister as well as himself. On the 10th of June, 1715, the chairman, Robert Walpole, moved in the House of Commons an impeachment of Matthew Prior, and he was ordered into close custody. So he remained, no person being permitted to see him without leave from the Speaker. Even in 1717, when an Act of Grace was passed, he was one of the persons excepted. He was at last liberated, there being not the slightest charge against him. The whole transaction reflects disgrace upon Walpole and his abettors: it was unquestionably an exhibition of political spite.

* Atterbury Papers.

But there were other opponents to punish when Prior had retired into the security of private life; and the principal minister of the successor of Queen Anne was intent upon crushing every one of them.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had long ceased to be the dominant power in Church and State, which the humble Court chaplain was obliged to regard with awe and reverence. He had played no inconsiderable part in putting an end to this influence; but times had very much altered since then. Having quarrelled with the Government, Her Grace made her approaches to the acknowledged leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, with the object of enlisting him in her service. His communications must have been anything but satisfactory.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Deanery, Friday [April 14, 1721].

Madam,

I have been very ill ever since I had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter with the papers, so as to be in no condition till this day to peruse and return them. I am still in so much pain and weakness that I doubt whether I shall be able to attend in the House on my own cause* on Tuesday next. However, if my lord Duke's appeal† comes not on till some days afterwards, I will be sure to attend that, provided I have strength enough to be carried to the House in a chair; and in the meantime I should be glad of any further light which your Grace may direct your agent in the cause to impart to me, particularly in relation to the evidence and reasonings on the other side upon which the decree was founded. It is too great an honour to me to be thought capable in any degree of procuring justice to the Duke in this cause. I know well that I am not of the least moment on such an occasion; and, had I

* Respecting the dormitory.

† Against a decree of the Court of Exchequer, respecting the payment of the workmen at Blenheim.

the use of my legs, would have waited upon your Grace and told you so myself. At present I can take only this way of thanking your Grace for any undeserved opinion you may have entertained of me, and of assuring your Grace that I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Deanery, Monday, May 1, 1721.

Madam,

It is with a great deal of concern that I now tell your Grace (which is as soon as I have been able to do it) that I apprehend it will be impossible for me to attend my lord Duke's cause, although I hear it is put forward to Friday next.† My illness has continued longer upon me, and been much sharper, than I imagined it would be, and I have as yet no manner of use of my limbs; nor can I hope to appear in the House of Lords till a fortnight hence, although my own cause is to come on next Thursday. I assure your Grace that I have a particular uneasiness in being rendered incapable of doing the little (very little) which is in my power towards procuring justice to my lord Duke; for I should have been glad of this occasion of showing your Grace with how entire a respect I am, &c.‡

John Sheffield, Lord Mulgrave, did not assist in the Revolution. He received honours from King William, yet opposed the Government; but on the accession of Queen Anne he accepted office, as well as distinctions; became Privy Seal, as well as Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normanby. He, however, could not reconcile himself to the dominant influence of the Marlboroughs, retired from office, and drew towards the High Church party. He also married the natural daughter of James II. by Katherine Sedley, and employed his leisure in building Buck-

* Atterbury Papers.

† The Duke's appeal was not finally adjudged till Tuesday, May 24, 1721, when the decree of the Court of Exchequer was affirmed. Bishop Atterbury did not appear in the House of Lords on that day, but attended on the preceding one, when counsel were heard on the cause.—W. M.

‡ Atterbury Papers.

ingham House in St. James's Park, in gaming, in writing poetry, and in secret communications with St. Germains—employments enough for a man close upon sixty. At the turn-out of the Whigs, the Duke became first Lord Steward of the Household, then President of the Council. They were the last duties of the kind he performed, except when appointed to be one of the Lords Justices at the demise of the Queen.*

Atterbury entertained a particular regard for the Duke of Ormonde, with whom he lived in habits of easy communication. In the year 1715, when Atterbury was dining with his Grace (whose party consisted of fourteen), it happened that the subject of short prayers was introduced. Sir William Wyndham observed that the shortest prayer he had ever heard was one of a common soldier, just before the battle of Blenheim, "O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul!" Upon which Atterbury, addressing himself to Sir William, said, "Your prayer, Sir William, is indeed very short; but I remember another as short, and much better, offered up likewise by a poor soldier in the same circumstances, 'O God, if in the day of battle I forget thee, do thou not forget me!'" This, as Atterbury pronounced it with his usual grace and dignity, was a very gentle and polite reproof, and was immediately felt by the whole company. And the Duke of Ormonde, who was the best bred man of his age, suddenly turned the conversation to another subject.†

* The Duke died Feb. 24, 1720-21.

† Dr. William King was one of the company. *See* "Anecdotes of his Own

It was of this gallant Duke Prior wrote his heroic verses, on beholding his portrait, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller. He commenced with telling the artist to strike the figure from "the injured canvas," because of its not being like the sitter—a criticism which Sir Godfrey would have resented. Then the poet advises the latter to paint the hero as he appeared on the field of Landen; but this must have caused him to enlarge his canvas considerably, for he was asked to "draw routed squadrons," and then the equestrian with his keen sabre, comet-like, is to denounce death, when—

> The Gallic chiefs their troops around him call,
> Fear to approach him though they see him fall.

Sir Godfrey is apostrophized to execute this noble design:—

> O Kneller! could thy shades and lights express
> The perfect hero in that glorious dress,
> Ages to come might Ormonde's picture know,
> And palms for thee beneath his laurels grow:
> In spite of Time thy work might ever shine,
> Nor Homer's colours last so long as thine.

Addison had long moved in the most fashionable society of the age, and his plays and poems were much admired by the ladies of the Court of George I. In the year 1716 he was married to the Countess of Warwick, and thenceforward his residence was her ladyship's mansion, Holland House; but this distinction did not secure him domestic comfort, and he

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Times," pp. 8, 9.—W. M. There were three contemporary Divinity Doctors of exactly the same name; one was Archbishop of Dublin; another the Christ Church wit, frequently referred to; the third filled the post of Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, who relates the anecdote in the text.

only survived it three years. His last political enterprise was a periodical, called *The Old Whig*, started early in the year 1719, in opposition to a recent publication of his old friend Steele, to which he had given the defiant title of *The Plebeian*. There was an interchange of uncomplimentary remarks between the two once cordial friends in the few numbers of each publication that were printed. Addison died in the summer of the same year, June 17.

Eustace Budgell was also a Christ Church student. He was a kinsman of Addison, which occasioned his close connection with him, political and literary. He contributed to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian:* indeed, the eighth and concluding volume of the *Spectator* was made up of their contributions, without any assistance from Steele. He was an accomplished scholar, and an easy and graceful writer; but he owed his advancement, in a great measure, to the influence of his celebrated relative, whose prosperity under Walpole's patronage he shared, till heavy losses in the South Sea speculation, and the determined opposition of the Duke of Bolton, made his affairs desperate.*

Gay joined his friends in essay writing. To the *Guardian*, March 24, 1713, he wrote (No. 11), on "Reproof," an amusing account of a pretended specific (flattery), with a list of cures. Equally clever and amusing is his comparison of criticism and dress,

* He then assisted the writers of "The Craftsmen" in abusing Walpole. He started a periodical called the *Bee*, forged a will, endeavoured to get into Parliament, with the assistance of the Duchess of Marlborough, and, being disgusted with his failures, in the year 1736 jumped into the Thames and was drowned.

in the 149th number. Though his fellow-labourers were Addison, Steele, Berkeley, Pope, Parnell, Hughes, Wotton, Tickell, Budgell, Martin, Carey, Eusden, and Ince, these compositions will bear comparison with their best efforts.

Gay, after the Hanoverian succession, followed the prudent advice of his friend Pope, and became as much a courtier as he could be. The fine clothes in which he delighted, and the silver he so prodigally expended "in buttons and loops for his coat," could only be secured by a sufficient revenue. Then he wanted fit company to admire him and his apparel, so he made his way to the ladies in attendance on the Princess of Wales, and under their auspices paid assiduous court to Her Royal Highness. He did not, however, neglect the general public, and the beaux and wits of the town were appealed to in the spring of 1714–15, in a play called "The What d'ye Call It," but with equivocal success; both Court and town, who thronged to witness its first representation, being mystified as to the purport of the author. Pope wrote an amusing letter to Congreve, describing its reception. Soon after, a facetious attack upon it was published by Griffin and Theobald, entitled "A Complete Key to 'The What d'ye Call It;'" and a more severe one appeared in a periodical known as *The Grumbler*.

Gay would not give up the idea that he could follow where Farquhar and Congreve had led, and once more his anxious friends rushed to the theatre, to endeavour to ensure the success of his "Three Hours after Marriage." In one of the scenes two gallants of the wife of a virtuoso (a burlesque on

Dr. Woodward) gain access to the house, disguised as a mummy and a crocodile. This absurdity damned the play, though Arbuthnot and Pope had helped in its composition. But the spirits of the author were but little affected by his failure. In a letter written to Pope, he informs his friend that he is going to Hampton Court "to mix with quality," where the company of the maids of honour made him forget his disappointment. As Swift wrote to him a few years later, "You are too volatile, and my lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan."

Gay was one of the victims of the South Sea Bubble. He had been frequently advised to sell the stock he possessed (of which he owned to the nominal amount of ten thousand pounds) to secure "a shoulder of mutton and a clean shirt every day."

Pope, Arbuthnot, and Swift added their cautions and entreaties; but the natural carelessness of his nature prevailed. His loss had a serious affect upon his health, and he lived for some time at Hampstead, in a very desponding state, till he brought out his tragedy of "The Captives," under the auspices of the Princess of Wales, and a volume of Fables in verse, written at the request of Her Royal Highness, for the entertainment of her younger son, the Duke of Cumberland. He entertained the most sanguine expectations in consequence of these manifestations of Court favours. They proved a repetition of the South Sea stock.

Gay had been cautioned by his zealous friend against putting trust in princes or princesses. "God is a better friend than a court," wrote Pope to him;

but when the mountain of Royal favour brought forth that mouse of performance in the offer of the insignificant post of Gentleman Usher to the youngest of the Princesses, he must have wished that he had relied on the better friend. He now indignantly and ungallantly turned his back upon the ladies of the Court, to the intense satisfaction of his most cordial supporters. Pope wrote *to* him, "While I have a shilling you shall have a sixpence—nay, eightpence, if I can contrive to live upon a groat." Swift wrote *of* him,—

> Thus Gay, the hare, with many friends,
> Twice seven long years at Court attends;
> Who, under tales conveying truth,
> To virtue form'd a princely youth;
> Who paid his courtship with the crowd,
> As far as modish pride allow'd;
> Rejects a servile usher's place,
> And leaves St. James's in disgrace.*

Atterbury, whose contempt for the tribe who flourished at St. James's was unequivocal, must have thoroughly appreciated this Royal patronage of a man of genius.

The coronation had taken place on the 10th of October, 1714, and before the year terminated a pamphlet was secretly circulated, entitled "English Advice to the Freeholders of England," which the Government denounced to be "a malicious and traitorous libel." They offered £1,000 for the discovery of the author, and £500 for that of the printer.

There were two answers to it, written by Walpole's pamphleteers, one apparently by Steele, in which it is asserted:—

* Verses to Dr. Delaney.

If we may judge of the men by their styles in writing as well as painting, I should determine that this traitorous libel is the joint work of a triumvirate, *a bishop*, a quondam Secretary, and *an Examiner*. There is an impudence in it that could come from nobody's pen but the latter's; a pertness which is the characteristic of the Secretary, with an affectation of reading; and the sophistry and declamation in many parts of it show it to have also passed under the pen of the first of them.*

Bishop Atterbury, Lord Bolingbroke, and Dean Swift are here alleged to have been co-partners in this composition.† Bolingbroke was then making up his mind to enter the service of James III. The Dean was equally zealous in opposition to the Whigs, but had limited his exertions to Dublin; the Bishop could have written the work without the assistance of either: nevertheless, a barrister of the name of Hornby was taken into custody as the author. There can be no doubt that Bishop Atterbury resented the slight that had been put upon him, and was disposed to give the Government, who were responsible for it, as much trouble as possible. With this object he attacked them with his pen through the press; while in the House of Lords he opposed their measures with no less boldness and ability.

The Duchess of Buckingham was intimate with the Bishop of Rochester, but notwithstanding the latter's regard for the deceased Duke, he would not permit the Latin epitaph written by his Grace to be

* "Remarks on a Libel privately dispersed by the Tories, entitled 'English Advice,' &c., showing the traitorous designs of the faction in putting out that villanous Pamphlet, on occasion of the ensuing Elections."

† Mr. Nichols, V., 32, considers it the production of Bishop Atterbury; but having had it printed, to be included in his Miscellanies, left it out in his volume published in 1798—a dangerous time.

inscribed on his monument, unless a particular passage, of doubtful meaning, were omitted.* The widow consulted him on her affairs, as will presently be shown, and in this direction it is evident that he was drawn closer into a knowledge of the designs of the exiled family.

When the Elector of Hanover became King of England, Steele was recompensed for his services with various employments, such as Surveyor to the Royal Stables at Hampton Court, Commissioner for Inquiring into the Forfeited Estates in Scotland, Manager or Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, and member for Boroughbridge. He was also knighted, and paid £500 in cash by Walpole. Sir Richard continued writing pamphlets and projecting periodicals. He brought out the *Town Talk*, *The Lover*, and *The Tea Table*; and his thoughtless way of life having reduced his finances, projected a scheme known as "The Fish Pool," an invention for bringing salmon to market alive from the coast of Ireland. The fish resisted, by dashing themselves against their prison, till they were unfit for sale, and the scheme proved a failure.

His was a spirit that could not long remain under control, and in 1719 he went into opposition upon the Peerage Bill, which caused his patent as manager to be taken from him. About this time he started *The*

* Dubius sed non improbus vixi,
Incertus morior sed inturbatus;
Humanum est nescire et errare.
Christum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, Benevolissimo,
Ens entium miserere mihi.

Theatre, and contrived to get into a violent dispute with Dennis, the critic.

Then the indefatigable pamphleteer issued a declaration against the South Sea scheme; but nothing proved of such service as the representation of a new comedy written by him, called "The Conscious Lovers," in the year 1722, after he had been restored to his office in the theatre. The King presented him with £500 for the dedication. It was not long, however, before he had exhausted these supplies and quarrelled with the managers, against whom he commenced a law suit, which he lost.*

Prior had chosen to be profoundly prejudiced against his old schoolfellow, and betrayed this in his writings in verse and prose. In a letter to Swift dated April 25, 1721, he most unfairly and untruly writes:—

> *Roffin* is more than suspected to have given up his party as Sancho did his subjects, for so much a head, *l'un portant l'autres*. His cause, therefore, which is something originally like that of Lutrin, is opposed or neglected by his ancient friends, and openly sustained by the Ministry. He cannot be lower in the opinion of most men than he is.†

No fact can be more easily proved than Atterbury's unselfish devotion to his party. A few persons who chose to fancy themselves more than ordinarily far-seeing, aware that Lord Sunderland, on becoming head of the Government, had endeavoured to con-

* At last Sir Richard came to the conclusion that his political, literary, and dramatic career was over. He quitted the gay delightful town, when in a condition that had left him insensible to its enjoyments, and retired to an estate he had in Wales (Langmanor, near Carnarvon), where he died, September 21, 1729.

† "Swift's Works," by Scott.

ciliate the leader of the Opposition in the House of Peers, came to the very erroneous conclusion that the Bishop was going over to the Whigs.

The Earl of Oxford had provided Prior with a comfortable residence, Down Hall, in Essex, where the poet, after escaping from his enemies, continued to write, and having finished his "Solomon on the Vanity of the World," he published, by subscription, a collection of his poems in one volume, dedicated to the son of his former patron, Dorset.*

The nobleman mentioned by Bishop Atterbury in the next letter as Pope's host was one of the Tory peers created by Queen Anne, in the year 1711, when the Whig Government and the Marlborough domination were brought to a summary close. Lord Bathurst was now and had been an active coadjutor of the Bishop in the House of Peers, and unremitting in his opposition to Walpole. His patronage of literature had been as decided as his politics; and this made his house the resort of the most distinguished men of letters. The Bishop seems to intimate that his lordship would return to active political life. In this he was quite correct; but many years elapsed before he accepted office.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, October 15, 1721.

Dear Sir,

Notwithstanding I write this on Sunday evening, to

* He was staying at Wimple, near Cambridge, the seat of the second Lord Oxford, when he succumbed to an attack of fever, September 18, 1721. His old friend, Dr. Robert Freind, wrote his epitaph; his place of sepulture was in the familiar Abbey; and his old schoolfellow and fellow political labourer, Atterbury, would have performed the last rites had he not been prevented by illness.

acknowledge the receipt of yours this morning, yet I foresee it will not reach you till Wednesday morning; and before set of sun that day I hope to reach my winter quarters at the Deanery. I *hope*, did I say? I recal that word, for it implies desire; and God knows that this is far from being the case. For I never part from this place but with regret, though I generally keep here what Mr. Cowley calls *the worst* of company in the world, my own; and see either none beside, or, what is worse than none, some of the *Arrii* or *Sebosi* of my neighbourhood—characters which Tully paints so well in one of his Epistles, and complains of the too civil but impertinent interruption they gave him in his retirement. Since I have named those gentlemen, and the book is not far from me, I will turn to the place; and, by pointing it out to you, give you the pleasure of perusing the Epistle,* which is a very agreeable one, if my memory does not fail me.

I am surprised to find that my Lord Bathurst and you are parted so soon. He has been sick, I know, of some late transactions; but, should that sickness continue still in some measure, I prophesy it will be quite off by the beginning of November: a letter or two from his London friends, and a surfeit of solitude, will soon make him change his resolution and his quarters. I vow to you, I could live here with pleasure all the winter, and be contented with hearing no more news than the *London Journal*, or some such trifling paper, affords me, did not the duty of my place require, absolutely require, my attendance at Westminster; where I hope the Prophet will now and then remember he has "a bed and a candlestick." In short, I long to see you, and hope you will come, if not a day, yet at least an hour sooner to town than you intended, in order to afford me that satisfaction. I am now, I thank God, as well as ever I was in my life, except that I can walk scarce at all without crutches; and I would willingly compound the matter with the gout to be no better, could I hope to be no worse; but that is a vain thought, for I expect a new attack long before Christmas. Let me see you, therefore, while I am in a condition to relish you, before the days (and the nights) come, when I shall and must say that "I have no pleasure in them."

I will bring your small volume of Pastorals along with me,

* It is the fourteenth Letter of the Second Book of the Epistles to Atticus.—W. M.

that you may not be discouraged from lending me books when you find me so punctual in returning them. Shakespeare shall bear it company, and be put into your hands as clear and as fair as it came out of them; though you, I think, have been dabbling here and there with the text. I have had more reverence for the writer and the printer, and left everything standing just as I found it. However, I thank you for the pleasure you have given me in putting me upon reading him once more before I die.

I believe I shall scarce repeat that pleasure any more; having other work to do, and other things to think of, but none that will interfere with the offices of friendship, in the exchange of which with you, sir, I hope to live and die.

P.S.—Mr. Addison's works came to my hands yesterday. I cannot but think it a very odd set of incidents that the book should be dedicated by a dead man to a dead man [Secretary Craggs]; and even that the new patron [Lord Warwick], to whom Mr. Tickell chose to inscribe his Verses, should be dead also before they were published. Had I been in the editor's place, I should have been a little apprehensive for myself under a thought that every one who had any hand in that work was to die before the publication of it. You see when I am conversing with you, I know not how to give over till the very bottom of the paper admonishes me once more to bid you adieu! *

Lord Lansdowne continued to act with the party of the Bishop of Rochester, and protested in the House of Peers against the attainder of the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Bolingbroke—a proceeding that so increased the wrath of Walpole that, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the now all-powerful minister caused Lord Lansdowne to be sent to the Tower as a suspected traitor; and he remained a prisoner in that fortress from September 26 of this year till February 8, 1719. He does not appear to have ceased his opposition when he returned to

* Atterbury Papers.

his place in the Upper House: indeed, in 1719 he particularly distinguished himself by a speech he made against the repeal of the Bill to Prevent Occasional Conformity. He prudently quitted England in 1722, and remained abroad ten years—ostensibly to economize.*

Among the warm friends of Bishop Atterbury in the House of Commons was "Honest Shippen," member for Saltash, a zealous Jacobite, fearless and outspoken. He was committed to the Tower on the 4th of December, 1718, for having, during a debate in the House on the King's speech, asserted that the second paragraph of it was "rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune that the King was a stranger to our language and constitution." This was one of numberless manifestations of despotic power with which the Whig Government contrived to maintain and spread disaffection. Englishmen could not help feeling degraded by seeing their country treated as an appanage to a petty continental State, and a desire for a change of rulers gathered strength every day.

In the following correspondence between Pope and the Bishop, the "Arabian Tales" referred to do not appear to have been the immortal stories of the Thousand-and-One Nights, a translation of which was not published till 1724. The interest Atterbury took in the fame of Dryden here is again seen.

* On his return, Lord Lansdowne published a collected edition of his Poems, presenting copies to Queen Caroline and the Princess Anne, with complimentary verses, which were favourably received. Pope called him "the polite," but his lordship possessed other qualities; he was consistent and sincere. His character as a politician has survived his fame as a poet. He died January 30, 1735.

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

September 23, 1720.

I hope you have some time ago received the sulphur and the two volumes of Mr. Gay, as instances (how small ones soever) that I wish you both health and diversion. What I now send for your perusal I shall say nothing of; not to forestal by a single word what you promised to say upon that subject. Your lordship may criticise from Virgil to these Tales,* as Solomon wrote of everything from the cedar to the hyssop. I have some cause, since I last waited on you at Bromley, to look upon you as a prophet in that retreat, from whom oracles are to be had, were mankind wise enough to go thither to consult you. The fate of the South Sea scheme has, sooner than I expected, verified what you told me. Most people thought the time would come, but no man prepared for it; no man considered it would come "like a thief in the night," exactly as it happens in the case of our death. Methinks God has punished the avaricious, as he often punishes sinners, in their own way—in the very sin itself: the thirst of gain was their crime; that thirst continued became their punishment and ruin. As for the few who have the good fortune to remain with half of what they imagined they had (among whom is your humble servant), I would have them sensible of their felicity; and convinced of the truth of old Hesiod's maxim, who, after half his estate was swallowed up by the *directors* of those days, resolved that *half to be more than the whole.*

Does not the fate of these people put you in mind of two passages, one in Job, the other from the Psalmist?

"Men shall groan out of the *city*, and hiss them out of their *place.*"

"They have dreamed out their dream, and awaking have found nothing in their hands."

Indeed the universal poverty, which is the consequence of universal avarice, and which will fall hardest upon the guiltless and industrious part of mankind, is truly lamentable. The universal deluge of the South Sea, contrary to the old deluge, has drowned all except a few *unrighteous* men; but it is some comfort to me that I am not one of them, even though I were

* Arabian Tales.

to survive and rule the world by it. I am much pleased with a thought of Dr. Arbuthnot's: he says the Government and South Sea Company have only locked up the money of the people upon conviction of their *lunacy* (as is usual in the case of lunatics), and intend to restore them as much as may be fit for such people as fast as they shall see them return to their senses.

The latter part of your letter does me so much honour, and shows me so much kindness, that I must both be proud and pleased in a great degree; but I assure you, my lord, much more the last than the first. For I certainly know and feel in my own heart, which truly respects you, that there may be a ground for your partiality one way; but I find not the least symptoms in my head of any foundation for the other. In a word, the best reason I know for my being pleased is that you continue your favour toward me: the best I know for being proud would be that you might cure me of it; for I have found you to be such a physician as does not only *repair* but *improve*.—I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, September, 1720.

Dear Sir,

The Arabian Tales, and Mr. Gay's books, I received not till Monday night, together with your letter, for which I thank you. I have had a fit of the gout upon me ever since I returned hither from Westminster on Saturday night last: it has found its way into my hands as well as legs; so that I have been utterly incapable of writing. This is the first letter that I have ventured upon, which will be written, I fear, *vacillantibus literis*, as Tully says Tyro's letters were after his recovery from an illness. What I said to you in mine about the monument was intended only to quicken, not to alarm you: it is not worth your while to know what I meant by it; but when I see you, you shall. I hope you may be at the Deanery towards the end of October, by which time I think of settling there for the winter. What do you think of some such short inscription as this in Latin, which may in a few words say all that is to be said of Dryden, and yet nothing more than he deserves?—

* Atterbury Papers.

JOHANNI DRYDENO,

Cui Poesis Anglicana
Vim suam, ac Veneres debet;
Et si qua in posterum augebitur laude,
Est adhuc debitura:
Honoris ergo P. &c.

To show you that I am as much in earnest in the affair as you yourself, something I will send you too of this kind in English. If your design holds of fixing Dryden's name only below and his busto above, may not lines like these be graved just under the name?—

This Sheffield rais'd, to Dryden's ashes just,
Here fix'd his name, and there his laurell'd bust:
What else the Muse in marble might express
Is known already; praise would make him less.

Or thus,—

More needs not; where acknowledg'd merits reign,
Praise is impertinent and censure vain.

This you will take as a proof of my zeal at least, though it be none of my talent in poetry. When you have read it over, I will forgive you if you should not once in your lifetime again think of it.

And now, sir, for your "Arabian Tales." Ill as I have been almost ever since they came to hand, I have read as much of them as ever I shall read while I live. Indeed they do not please my taste: they are written with so romantic an air, and, allowing for the difference of Eastern manners, are yet, upon any supposition that can be made, of so wild and absurd a contrivance (at least to my northern understanding), that I have not only no pleasure, but no patience, in perusing them. They are to me like the odd paintings on Indian screens, which at first glance may surprise and please a little; but, when you fix your eye intently upon them, they appear so extravagant, disproportioned, and monstrous, that they give a judicious eye pain, and make him seek for relief from some other object. They may furnish the mind with some new images, but I think the purchase is made at too great an expence; for to read those two volumes through, liking them as little as I do, would be a terrible penance, and to read them with pleasure would be dangerous, on the other side, because of the infection. I will never believe that you have any keen relish of them till I find you

write worse than you do, which I dare say I never shall. Who that Petit de la Croise* is, the pretended author of them, I cannot tell; but, observing how full they are in the descriptions of dress, furniture, &c., I cannot help thinking them the product of some woman's imagination, and believe me I would do anything but break with you rather than be bound to read them over with attention.

I am sorry that I was so true a prophet in respect of the South Sea—sorry, I mean, as far as your loss is concerned; for in the general I ever was, and still am, of opinion that, had the project taken root and flourished, it would by degrees have overturned our constitution. Three or four hundred millions was such a weight that, whichsoever way it had leaned, must have borne down all before it. But of the dead we must speak gently; and, therefore, as Mr. Dryden says somewhere—"Peace be to its manes!"

Let me add one reflection to make you easy in your ill luck. Had you gotten all that you have lost, beyond what you ventured, consider that your superfluous gains would have sprung from the ruin of several families that now want necessaries; a thought under which a good man, that grew rich by such means, could not (I persuade myself) be perfectly easy. Adieu, and believe me, &c.†

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.‡

Westminster, February 26, 1720–21.

My Lord,

Lord Coningsby's complaint against the Lord Chan-

* He was the author of "Persian Tales."

† Atterbury Papers.

‡ Bishop Trelawney died within five months of the date of this letter to him, viz. July 19, 1721, at the age of 71. Of this accomplished prelate Mr. Granger, in his "Biographical History," gives the following portraiture: "He was a man of polite manners, competent learning, and uncommon knowledge of the world. He was a true son and friend of the Church; and exerted himself with courage and alacrity, with magnanimity and address, in defence of her just rights and privileges. He was friendly and open, generous and charitable—was a good companion and a good man. He was successively Bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester. He had as much personal intrepidity as his predecessor, Bishop Mews, in the last of these Sees, and was in all other respects much his superior. The masterly dedication before Atterbury's Sermons is addressed to this prelate. The reader may see in it some traits of his character without the exaggerations

cellor* is put off till to-morrow, and is a matter of such high expectation that Lord Nottingham cannot refuse himself the pleasure of being there; and I believe there is scarcely a lord that is in health who will be absent, except your lordship.† Tuesday, likewise, is set apart for the complaint about Lord Coningsby's privilege, so that the trustees cannot meet till Wednesday; of which I have undertaken to give your lordship an account. The cause went against the Duchess of Hamilton‡ last night, *nemine contradicente*. Nine of the eleven judges (present), in elaborate speeches, declared for Mr. Fleetwood; two only who had been counsel for the Duchess in the cause before they were judges (Pratt and Fortescue), stuck to her.—I am, &c.§

The Bishop is again placed in the position of a critic; and it will be seen how regardful he is while so employed of his friend's fame. In the same honest spirit he addresses himself to the productions of another member of the distinguished literary circle in which his lordship had long been regarded as an ornament. The works of the Court physician were of too purposeless a character to satisfy his judgment.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Westminster, March 26, 1721.

Dear Sir,

You are not yourself gladder you are well than I am;

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which are too often found in compositions of this kind, and which bring the sincerity of authors in question before we have read the first page of their works."—W. M.

* Lord Parker: "That he had put disaffected persons into the Commission of the Peace." This charge (conveyed in a pamphlet which was distributed at the door of the House of Peers) not being substantiated, Lord Coningsby was committed to the Tower.—W. M.

† Bishop Trelawney did, however, attend the House on this occasion. The whole number of peers then present was 112.—W. M.

‡ An appeal to the House of Lords against a judgment of the Court of King's Bench, in favour of Mr. Fleetwood, respecting a large estate in Staffordshire.—W. M.

§ Atterbury Papers.

especially since I can please myself with the thought that, when you had lost your health elsewhere, you recovered it here. May these lodgings never treat you worse, nor you at any time have less reason to be fond of them.

I thank you for the sight of your verses;* and, with the freedom of an honest, though perhaps injudicious friend, must tell you that, though I could like some of them if they were anybody's but yours, yet as they are yours, and to be owned as such, I can scarce like any of them. Not but that the four first lines are good, especially the second couplet, and might, if followed by four others as good, give reputation to a writer of a less established fame; but from you I expect something of a more perfect kind, and which the oftener it is read the more it will be admired. When you barely exceed other writers, you fall much beneath yourself; it is your misfortune now to write without a rival, and you may be tempted by that means to be more careless than you would otherwise be in your compositions.

Thus much I could not forbear saying, though I have a motion of consequence in the House of Lords† to-day, and must prepare for it. I am even with you for your ill paper, for I write upon worse, having no other at hand. I wish you the continuance of your health most heartily, and am, &c.

P.S.—I have sent Dr. Arbuthnot the Latin manuscript,‡ which I could not find when you left me; and am so angry at the writer for his design and manner of executing it, that I could hardly forbear sending him a line of Virgil along with it. The chief reasoner of that philosophic farce is a *Gallo-Ligur*, as he is called: what that means in English or French I cannot say; but all he says is in so loose and slippery and trickish a way of reasoning, that I cannot forbear applying this passage of Virgil to him:—

> Vane Ligur, frustraque animis elate superbis,
> Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes!

To be serious, I hate to see a book gravely written, and in all the forms of argumentation, which proves nothing and which

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* Epitaph on the Hon. Simon Harcourt.

† An appeal respecting the dormitory at the College, Westminster.—W. M.

‡ Of Huetius, Bishop of Avranches, left after his death.—W. M.

says nothing, and endeavours only to put us into a way of distrusting our own faculties, and doubting whether the marks of truth and falsehood can in any case be distinguished from each other. Could that blessed point be made out (as it is a contradiction in terms to say it can) we should then be in the most uncomfortable and wretched state in the world; and I would in that case be glad to exchange my reason with a dog for his instinct to-morrow.*

In the autumn of 1721 the Bishop's health, which had suffered much during the summer, confined him to his chamber. He remained in retirement at the episcopal manor-house, only going to the Deanery when residence was imperative. His chief gratification was correspondence with his friends, with Pope especially, with whom he discussed literary subjects with his customary ardour. Waller was still one of his favourite poets. The recent death of his old schoolfellow is referred to. They had, from causes already hinted at, become estranged. Prior had resented the Bishop's conscientious refusal of his appeal in behalf of his godson, and had perpetrated some indifferent epigrammatic attempts at his expense.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, September 27, 1721.

Dear Sir,

I am now confined to my bedchamber and to the matted room wherein I am writing, seldom venturing to be carried down even into the parlour to dinner, unless when company, to whom I cannot excuse myself, comes; which I am not ill pleased to find is now very seldom. This being my case in the sunny part of the year, what must I expect when

—— inversum contristat Aquarius annum?

"If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done

* Atterbury Papers.

in the dry?" Excuse me for employing a sentence of Scripture on this occasion; I apply it very seriously. One thing relieves me a little, under the ill prospect I have of spending my time at the Deanery in the winter, that I shall have the opportunity of seeing you oftener; though I am afraid you will have little pleasure in seeing me there. So much for my state of health, which I should not have touched upon had not your friendly letter been so full of it. One civil thing that you say in it made me think you had been reading Mr. Waller, and possessed of that image at the end of his copy *à la malade*, had you not bestowed it upon one who has no right to the least part of the character. If you have not read the verses lately, I am sure you remember them, because you forget nothing:—

> With such a grace you entertain,
> And look with such contempt on pain, &c.

I mention them not on the account of that, but one that follows, which ends with the very same rhymes and words [appear and clear] that the couplet but one after that does; and therefore in my Waller there is a various reading of the first of these couplets, for there it runs thus,—

> So lightnings in a stormy air
> Scorch more than when the sky is fair.

You will say that I am not very much in pain, nor very busy, when I can relish these amusements, and you will say true; for at present I am in both these respects very easy.

I had not strength enough to attend Mr. Prior to his grave, else I would have done it to have shown his friends that I had forgotten and forgiven what he wrote on me. He is buried, as he desired, at the feet of Spenser; and I will take care to make good in every respect what I said to him when living, particularly as to the triplet* he wrote for his own Epitaph, which, while we were on good terms, I promised him should never appear on his tomb while I was Dean of Westminster.

I am pleased to find that you have so much pleasure, and (which is the foundation of it) so much health at Lord

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* To me 'tis given to die, to you 'tis given
To live: alas! one moment sets us even.
Mark how impartial is the will of Heaven!—W. M.

Bathurst's: may both continue till I see you! May my lord have as much satisfaction in building the house in the wood, and using it when built, as you have in designing it! I cannot send a wish after him that means him more happiness; and yet I am sure I wish him as much as he wishes himself.—I am, &c.*

Of Addison Atterbury had been a warm admirer, but was not unconscious of his faults, and did not shrink from endorsing the graphic portrait his friend Pope has left of the successful author, unsympathizing and ungenerous towards his less fortunate competitors. The epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, in which the poet's estimate of Addison was introduced, has never been excelled for the force with which it portrays the pettinesses that may characterize a fine nature spoilt by success. It was at least seven years after the death of the husband of Lady Warwick before Atterbury addressed Pope on the subject.

Peace to all such! but were there one whose fires
True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires;
Blest with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease—
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike;
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A tim'rous foe and a suspicious friend;
Dreading e'en fools, by flatterers besieged;
And so obliging that he ne'er obliged;
Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;

* Atterbury Papers.

While wits and templars ev'ry sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise.
Who but must laugh if such a man there be?
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?*

As a pendant to Pope's judgment on Addison, here are inserted Aaron Hill's equally applicable verses on Pope:—

Tuneful Alexis on the Thames' fair side,
The ladies' plaything and the Muses' pride;
With merit popular, with wit polite,
Easy though vain, and elegant though light,
Desiring and deserving others' praise,
Poorly accepts a fame he ne'er repays;
Unborn to cherish, sneakingly approves,
And wants the soul to spread the worth he loves.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

February 26, 1721-2.

Permit me, dear sir, to break into your retirement, and to desire of you a complete copy of your verses on Mr. Addison. Send me also your last resolution, which shall punctually be observed in relation to my giving out any copy of it; for I am again solicited by another lord, to whom I have given the same answer as formerly. No small piece of your writing has been ever sought after so much: it has pleased every man, without exception, to whom it has been read. Since you now therefore know where your real strength lies, I hope you will not suffer that talent to be unemployed. For my part I should be so glad to see you finish something of that kind, that I could be content to be a little sneered at, in a line or so, for the sake of the pleasure I should have in reading the rest. I have talked my sense of this matter to you once or twice; and now I put it under my hand, that you may see it is my deliberate opinion. What weight that may have with you I cannot say; but it pleases me to have an opportunity of showing you how well I wish you, and how true a friend I am to your fame, which I desire may grow every day, and in every kind of writing to which you shall please to turn your pen. Not but that I have some little interest in the proposal, as I shall be known to have been acquainted with a

* Pope's Works, II., 86.

man that was capable of excelling in such different manners, and did such honour to his country and language; and yet was not displeased sometimes to read what was written by his humble servant.*

In the following notes from the Bishop to the Dean of Ely, he takes notice of one of those multitudinous attacks upon him which the prospect of patronage created. It came from a member of his own order, his old opponent, Dr. White Kennet. Bishop Atterbury opposed the bill of which the Bishop of Peterborough was the advocate, while it was passing through the House of Peers, and subsequently drew up a protest against it, which he and his friends signed. This opposition induced Dr. White Kennet to pay his court to the Minister by a virulent pamphlet. The Dean, who had volunteered a reply, became Bishop of Ely.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO DEAN MOSS.†

Bromley, Monday Morn. [April, 1722.]

Good Mr. Dean,

I have made a shift (notwithstanding my mind at present is far otherwise employed) to run over the vile pamphlet you sent me, which I had not seen before, having been here now for eleven days, and out of the way of all such papers.

Your guess as to the hands from whence it came may be right; however, I cannot but suspect a little that some of my own bench had the direction of it. You know which of them it was declared in the debate "that heathens themselves ought to be encouraged by laws made in their favour, if they were useful to the Government;" and that is the darling notion of the book from one end to the other. Let it come from whence it will, it is a detestable piece, written with so much insincerity, and such

* Atterbury Papers.

† Robert Moss, Dean of Ely, and preacher at Gray's Inn, London. His "Sermons and Discourses on Practical Subjects" were published in eight volumes, commencing in 1732.

contempt of religion, as cannot but give every good man that reads it grief and indignation. But this is the hour of darkness and of the power thereof.

It is certain the writer deserves to be chastised; and I am glad you think of undertaking that work. For myself, the melancholy circumstances I am in (and how long I shall continue in them God knows) will not suffer me to turn my thoughts that way to any purpose. However, I will be as useful to you in the attempt as I am able to be; especially if it pleases God to remove the cloud that at present hangs over my mind. I have no guess at the time when I shall be able to stir from hence, that depending altogether on an event, the issue of which I must attend, but can no ways foresee. But should I be able to come to the Deanery, or see you here, and discourse you on that subject, I will do it most gladly; being from the bottom of my heart concerned to see such notions countenanced in a Christian State, and the abettors of them preferred and applauded.

Good Mr. Dean, I can say no more to you now, but that I will, as I have opportunity, consider the book a little, and give you my thoughts of it (such as they are) when I see you.

In the meantime, I pray God to prosper your good intentions, and to raise up from among the clergy men of the like ability, zeal, and courage, who may stand in the gap, and resist that spirit of irreligion which is breaking (or rather has broken) in upon us.—I am &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO DEAN MOSS.

Bromley, May 4, 1722.

Good Mr. Dean,

You have heard in how melancholy a way my time has been taken up,† and do not wonder at my not answering yours. I am not yet recovered from my double indisposition of body and mind. However, I intend to be at the Deanery some part of the approaching week, and should be glad to see you there at any time after four o'clock on Monday next, or before ten on Wednesday. I do not judge as you do as to the time being past

* Atterbury Papers.

† By the long illness of his wife, which had terminated in her death eight days before the date of this letter.—W. M.

for answering that piece. I should think it were better to defer it still longer, and not (as I before said) to trace him κατὰ πόδα, for he does not deserve it; but to single out the places most exceptionable; and, after exposing them, take an occasion from the whole to advance somewhat that is new and affecting on the subject; and carry on the charge still further against that pernicious, however countenanced, sect. But of this you are the best judge.—I am, &c.*

The affection existing between Atterbury and Pope brought them to be inmates of each other's homes, on the most confidential footing. Pope, as he has related, had been "a lodger" at the Deanery, and had been solicitous that the Bishop should be his guest at Twickenham. The latter complied, and was evidently highly gratified with all that he saw and heard there. "Pope's Villa" has become a thing of the past, but at the date of Atterbury's visit its attractions were quite new.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, May 25, 1722.

Dear Sir,

I had much ado to get hither last night, the water being so rough that the ferrymen were unwilling to venture. The first thing I saw this morning, after my eyes were open, was your letter; for the freedom and kindness of which I thank you. Let all compliments be laid aside between us for the future, and depend upon me as your faithful friend in all things within my power—as one that truly values you, and wishes you all manner of happiness. I thank you and Mrs. Pope† for my kind reception, which has left a pleasing impression upon me that will not soon be effaced.

Lord [Bathurst?] has pressed me terribly to see him at [Iver, Bucks?], and told me, in a manner betwixt kindness and resentment, that it is but a few miles beyond Twitenham.

I have but a little time left, and a great deal to do in it,

* Atterbury Papers.

† The poet's mother.

and must expect that ill health will render a good share of it useless; and therefore, what is likely to be left at the foot of the account ought by me to be cherished, and not thrown away in compliments. You know the motto * of my sun-dial, "Vivite, ait, fugio." I will, as far as I am able, follow its advice, and cut off all unnecessary avocations and amusements. There are those that intend to employ me in a way I do not like: if they persist in their intentions I must apply myself to the work they cut out for me as well as I can. But withal that shall not hinder me from employing myself also in a way which they do not like. The givers of trouble one way shall have their share of it another; that at last they may be induced to let me be quiet, and live to myself with the few (the very few) friends I like: for that is the point, the single point, I now aim at; though I know the generality of the world, who are unacquainted with my intentions and views, think the very reverse of this character belongs to me. I do not know how I have rambled into this account of myself: when I sat down to write I had no thought of making that any part of my letter.

You might have been sure, without my telling you, that my right hand is at ease, else I should not have overflowed at this rate. And yet I have not done; for there is a kind intimation at the end of yours, which I understood because it seems to tend towards employing me in something that is agreeable to you. Pray explain yourself, and believe that you have not an acquaintance in the world that would be more in earnest on such an occasion than I; for I love you as well as esteem you.

All the while I have been writing, pain and a fine thrush have been severally endeavouring to call off my attention, but both in vain; nor should I yet part with you but that the turning over a new leaf frights me a little, and makes me resolve to break through a new temptation before it has taken too fast hold on me. I am, &c.†

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* The following epigram was found among the Bishop's papers:—

Vivite, ait, fugio!
Labentem tacito quisquis pede conspicis umbram,
Si sapis, hæc audis—Vivite, nam fugio!
Utilis est oculis, nec inutilis auribus umbra,
Dum tacet, exclamat—Vivite, nam fugio!

† Atterbury Papers.

Dr. Moss employed himself in the task he had proposed, with what effect the Bishop's critique will sufficiently inform the reader. It will be seen, even in treating an adversary, how imperative he thought it for a clergyman to use decorous expressions. Throughout his review of the Dean's labours in his behalf, he displays the same sound judgment and good principles.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO DEAN MOSS.

Bromley, June 9, 1722.

Good Mr. Dean,

I thank you for your letter, and will trouble you no further on that head. You shall know my meaning in that enquiry if I live to meet you upon your return from Ely.

As to your papers, I have read them thrice, and with some attention; such as my present indisposition and want of books at this place would permit me to use. And I began to set down in writing some small remarks on particular places; but I found them to be of so little moment in themselves, and yet likely to be so numerous, that as I could not well go through with the trouble of putting them down on paper, so I was glad, upon a review of them, to find that that labour seemed needless; for they related chiefly to the manner of expression, which, though it be not such, here and there, as perhaps I should have pitched upon (for every man has his particular cast of words and turn of style), yet may for all that be better than what I should have substituted, as being more suitable to the way of writing you have proposed to yourself and which you have all along uniformly pursued, and in my judgment to very good purpose. However, as the gravity and weight of your expression is the distinguishing character of it, I could wish that some passages (they are very few) which seem to carry the least air of levity in them, might be altered or omitted—such as that of "paying compliments to a mask"—that of "spinning glass"—and one or two more I think of the like kind, which, when you read them over again for the press, you cannot miss. In other respects I almost everywhere perfectly approve your manner of writing as well as reasoning. Only I cannot but wish

(as I said to you at first) that you had paid less *respect* to the performance, and considered it in a much slighter and more contemptuous manner; and only taken occasion from thence to say what you thought proper to be offered to the public, without pursuing him *pedetentim* through all his cavils and evasions. But since you have thought fit to take that way (which will also have its use) I see not how what you have written in the whole can be shortened in the parts, so as to answer your professed design in writing; and this I say after endeavouring here and there to contract what you had said, and finding that it would not be of a piece with the rest, nor answer your purposes, if I did so.

Therefore, though I am sorry the piece is so large, yet I see not how it can be conveniently abridged; and am sure that, long as it may be, whoever reads it attentively will find in every part of it what will make him good amends for his trouble.

The matter of fact about the petition* itself is of importance, and absolutely necessary to be told; and I doubt not but the bishops concerned will be easy on that head. I am sure they ought to be: and if they are not, that itself is a new reason why they should be put upon publicly owning what was transacted in secret; if that point can be gained and made consistent with the decency and duty that is to be paid them.

Your defending a rejected petition and an expunged protest† can surely be attended with no just objection, since you pretended to know nothing of the debates and proceedings within doors beyond what Joshua‡ himself has printed; nor to consider any arguments but his against that petition and those reasons. The Lords might have such as induced them to reject and expunge; and yet this pretended Quaker may not have hit upon them.

As to the statutes supposed to give the Quakers the name of Christians, you allow too much in what you say on that head;

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* That of the London clergy against the Quaker's Bill. Dean Moss was the first who put his name to it.—W. M.

† This protest was drawn up by Bishop Atterbury, and subscribed by Archbishop Dawes and Bishop Gastrell, and eight temporal peers. Archbishop Wake and Bishop Potter likewise dissented, but without stating upon what grounds they did so.—W. M.

‡ The pamphleteer.

for there is not a single passage in any Act of Parliament, but that you have cited, where the word *Christian* is used concerning them; and that only says they shall subscribe a profession of *their Christian belief*, which they may do, nay, and even be orthodox in that belief; and yet, if they either hold opinions directly destructive of those articles of faith they profess, or renounce the known institutions of Christ, be for all that no Christians, nor does any Act of Parliament ever style them so.

I shall say nothing to you about the instances of the Lord Advocate's petitioning in 1588, but this—that Gibson observed there was no mention of its being presented even in the larger entries of Sir Simonds D'Ewes's printed account of that session; which assertion, whether it be true or no, I have not inquired, as not thinking it very material.

That part of your book which relates to the divine institution of an oath, and that other which concerns the duty of the magistrate with respect to religion, are what need not have been offered in answer to that shuffling writer; but, since you have been at the pains of drawing them up, they ought not, I am sure, to be lost; for those points are treated by you with great solidity and prudence, and your way of stating them will be of good use.

I had some trouble in marshalling your separate papers, which, either by me or you, or both of us, were put much out of order. I suppose I have, as I now send them back, restored them to the order in which you designed them. If, after all, you accuse me for not having done what you had hopes I would have done in relation to your MS., I have two things to say for myself, and can say both of them very sincerely. The first is, that ill health has been for these two months past my perpetual portion; and that, mixed with some melancholy and shocking accidents of life, has hindered me from employing my mind in earnest on any subject of consequence; though, I thank God, I am now going to be more at ease than I was in those particulars.

Another thing that hindered me putting down my thoughts at large was a resolution to see you again and discourse over all matters verbally; and I had appointed in my mind yesterday for that purpose, and had disposed all my matters and ordered my coach for that little journey. But I was prevented by incidents

that it is not now worth while to trouble you with; and must still be necessarily confined here for a few days longer.

I wish you a good journey to Ely; and hope for your return about the beginning or middle of August. Whenever it is, you will let me know of it; and then, if I am in a condition of doing further service (further, do I say? I have done none hitherto) I will not decline it. In the meantime, and always, look upon me as your, &c.*

Bishop Atterbury published, in the year 1723, his Sermons, in two volumes. They were dedicated to his cordial and constant friend Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester. These discourses were held in the highest estimation by every Christian reader capable of appreciating sound Divinity argumentatively expressed. In his social character he was as eminently popular as in his clerical. Alluding to a gesture which indicated approval of what had been said, Gay, in his epistle to Pope, wrote,—

> See Rochester approving nod the head,
> And ranks one modern with the mighty dead.

Pope, in his epistle to Arbuthnot, almost repeats the first line,—

> Ev'n mitred Rochester could nod the head.

But the greatest compliment, of the many addressed to this gifted and estimable prelate, will be found among the poems of the Duke of Wharton, and is entitled:—

ON THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S PREACHING.

> At Emmaus, when Christ our Lord appeared,
> Expounding prophecies and truths revered;
> When, too, he vanished from his hearers' eyes,
> And with transcendent brightness sought the skies;

* Atterbury Papers.

How were their hearts, when sudden light appeared,
With rapture seized and grace seraphic fired!
Pleased, and convinced of ev'ry truth, they stood,
Admired, confessed—adored the mighty God!
Scarce fainter transports all my powers control,
Glow in my breast, and triumph in my soul!
So sweetly ROCHESTER attracts the sense,
So great the magic of his eloquence.
How shall I speak the fulness of my heart?
Or half the pleasure that I feel impart?
How can these ecstasies in verse be shown?
This asks the tongue of angels—or his own!
Let Nature's rival, Art, her force apply;
The silent poetry of painting try,
To the stretched canvas graceful vigour give,
And teach the animated forms to live:
So may succeeding times her merit raise,
And, as upon the breathing piece they gaze,
At once the prelate and the painter praise.
Here, Artist, here the godlike teacher show,
While list'ning crowds attentive stand below;
Each moving part, each gesture touch with skill,
And strike out all the bishop with thy quill.
In venerable robes let him arise,
With solemn air and lively piercing eyes;
His eyes the type of his discerning mind,
And lively wit with solemn judgment joined.
Let beams of glory shine around his head,
And graceful majesty his face o'erspread;
His face how comely! how polite his mien!
Though stern, yet sweet—though awful, yet serene.
Oh, could'st thou, echo-like, his speech renew,
As honey sweet, as soft as heav'nly dew;
Repeat the doctrine that all vice disarms,
The winning rhet'ric that our senses charms;
Severest truth so forcibly expressed,
And manly sense in easy language dressed!
Oh, could'st thou ever vocal accents join,
A sharp melodious voice, like his, design,
As sweet, as clear, as pow'rful, as divine!
As when Jove speaks, the winds no longer roar,
Nor foaming waves are dashed against the shore,
Diffusive Peace and Silence reign around,
And all's attention to the heav'nly sound;
So here attention draw with eager eyes
And uplift hands which testify surprise:
Touch ev'ry form—no pleasing arts conceal,
And let each hearer's face his mind reveal.

Here let the young with kindling rapture glow,
And riper years by their emotions show;
Let virgins cease to roll a wanton eye,
And with his moving sentiments comply:
Let sinners bear their former sins away;
The good, the old, become divinely gay,
And seem to enter on Eternal Day.
So Athens once upon her preacher hung,
Transported by the precepts of his tongue;
So stood great PAUL—so skilful Raphael drew:
And as in him another Paul we view,
Another Raphael may we find in you.

Except Pope, and an equally warm friend, Samuel Wesley,* none of the Bishop's contemporaries have left so agreeable and so vivid a recollection of him. Unfortunately for Atterbury, the high estimation in which he was held by such persons as were most competent to do him justice aggravated the ill-will which his controversial talents had created among Low Churchmen—more particularly such as possessed ecclesiastical honours by favour of the Whig government, and had become the most subservient of their supporters.

* He was many years one of the Masters of Westminster School, and was elder brother of the founder of the great body of Dissenters still distinguished by his name.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONSPIRATOR.

The "Pretender" and the Jacobites—His Claim to the Throne—Bolingbroke his Secretary of State—Movement in 1715—Bolingbroke dismissed—Bishop Atterbury receives Secret Communications—Execution of Clergymen—James Murray an Agent of the Pretender—Atterbury writes to James—The Stuart Papers—Reply of James—His significant Allusion to a Cardinal's Hat—Opinions respecting Atterbury—Desire of the Pretender to stand well with English Protestants—The Bishop collects Funds for him—Marriage of James—Atterbury to Lord Mar, on the Pretender's Affairs—Mystification—Quarrels of King George and the Prince of Wales—Atterbury writes to Lord Mar, referring to an intended Jacobite Enterprise, and the Cardinal's Hat.

In June, 1713, "James III." having retired to Lorraine, the two Houses of Parliament agreed on an address to the Queen to demand his expulsion. In the opening of the session of 1714, Her Majesty had tried by assurances to remove the fears that had been artfully excited by the Whigs respecting the succession. In the House of Peers Lord Wharton, on the 5th of April, carried a resolution that the Protestant succession was not endangered by the existing Government; the Commons, on the 18th, expressed the same opinion. The Jacobites were extremely active; and much attention was drawn to two publications in favour of James—one being Edward

Lloyd's "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George," the other Bedford's "Hereditary Rights," &c. The authors were prosecuted.

On hearing of Queen Anne's death, James hurried to Versailles, but Louis XIV. refusing to see him, he returned to Lorraine.

As the son of Charles I., after his father's death, assumed the title of Charles II., there seemed to the Jacobites no sufficient reason why the son of James II., at his death, should hesitate about following that precedent. The Parliament and a majority of the nation were not more against one assumption than the other—moreover, they had sanctioned the succession of the daughters of the monarch they had dethroned; the son had committed no crime, and the injustice of his exclusion for his father's faults was impressively insisted upon. Every credible historian has rejected the doubts thrown upon the birth of the child of Mary of Modena; and though he may have been a "pretender" to the Crown of England, it is but fair to acknowledge that, according to all received ideas of right and justice on the subject, he possessed legitimate claims that sanctioned the exertions of his supporters.

It is not conclusive to assert that the legislature had settled otherwise. The Houses of Parliament had sanctioned the usurpation of Bolingbroke, the various changes in the lines of York and Lancaster, the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, as well as the monarchy of Charles the Second. What they had done at one time they had reversed at another. The Elector of Hanover was the choice of the

strongest political party in the State; the entire body of Roman Catholics, as well as the Tory or High Church party in Church and State, were secretly the acknowledged subjects of James III. The partizans of the exile who had died remained faithful to the survivor; those abroad keeping up, as well as they were able, the semblance of a Court as well as a Cabinet; those at home, in constant peril and self-denial, contributing to his support, and combining for his restoration.

Where the recognition of the royal title was sought to be avoided that of the "Chevalier de St. George" was adopted. The principal European Courts treated him with respect or neglect in accordance with their relations with the existing Government in England; but by more than one he appears to have received such encouragement as afforded him hopes of a powerful demonstration in his favour.

Under these circumstances the Prince grew up to manhood, and then the chief object of his friends was a desirable matrimonial alliance. His choice was a source of great anxiety to his adherents, but particularly to English Protestants, whose confidence he had long been endeavouring to gain. His principal object in marrying was to gain material support in advancing his pretensions; but the royal families on the Continent with whom he desired to be connected, did not reciprocate the feeling. They required him to be in a position that might render him an acceptable suitor, and it was to gain this that he stirred up his zealous partisans to make a demonstration.

To what extent Queen Anne's principal Ministers favoured legitimacy we have no means of judging; how thoroughly they destroyed what chance it had of success is well known.

The rivalry of Bolingbroke and Oxford had reached its climax, when the latter, on the 8th of June, 1714, presented a memorial to the Queen, complaining of the vexatious proceedings of his colleague: the result of which was that Oxford was suddenly dismissed from office on the 27th of the following month, and on the 30th the Earl of Shrewsbury was appointed his successor. Two days later the Queen, who had been for some days in a dangerous condition, breathed her last. The Privy Council were promptly made acquainted with certain documents by which George, the Elector of Hanover—his mother, the Electress, had died on the 8th of June—had appointed a Regency of Lords Justices. Lord Oxford was one of the number, but Lord Bolingbroke was excluded, and at the end of August was dismissed from all his posts. He shortly afterwards quitted the kingdom to escape imprisonment, and entered the service of James, as Secretary of State. A reward of £100,000 was offered for the apprehension of "the Pretender" should he land in England; to which he replied by forwarding to the principal Minister of George I. a declaration of his right to the kingdom. This document appears to have exasperated the new Government into taking severe measures against "Papists, Nonjurors, and disaffected persons," as well as clergymen who introduced politics into their sermons. Nevertheless, a feeling in favour of the exiled prince

became evident, and it was soon manifest that it was shared by persons high in authority.

The Earl of Strafford's papers were seized in January, 1715, in which month a reward of £1,000 was offered for the discovery of the author of a pamphlet entitled "English Advice to the Freeholders of England." New displays of Jacobite zeal were attempted to be suppressed by increasing severities. Impeachments were levelled against the leading Tories. The Duke of Ormonde also quitted the kingdom, but Lords Oxford, Powis, and Scarsdale were committed to the Tower. The Earl of Mar left London for the North, and shortly afterwards raised a rebellion in Scotland. Lords Lansdowne and Duplin were arrested, as well as several distinguished members of the House of Commons. The country was now in a ferment; James III. openly proclaimed; and armed forces appeared in his name in Scotland, as well as in the North and West of England. They were a miscellaneous body, consisting of Roman Catholics, of Nonjurors, and High Churchmen, and their leaders evinced no military talent. The English army in favour of James, was easily overpowered by General Carpenter.

Lord Mar had for a time better success against the Duke of Argyll. James arrived in Scotland on the 25th of December, and took up his residence at Scone. Here he made arrangements for a Court and Cabinet, and announced his coronation; but reinforcements having joined Argyll, the Chevalier, Lord Mar, and several of the confederates escaped in a vessel that sailed from Montrose, and returned to

France. His first act was to dismiss Lord Bolingbroke for neglect of duty.

Many of Bishop Atterbury's friends were deeply implicated in this movement. After it had been suppressed, the prisons were filled, and the most merciless severity employed against all concerned in it. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the sanguinary reprisals that were made by the Government. A tyranny more brutal than anything that had existed under the Stuarts was exercised in the name of George I. upon all who dared to speak, to write, or to think a doubt of the legality of his title to the crown. The Bishop saw clergymen punished with a ferocity worthy of the worst days of the Ecclesiastical Commission, while the press was being crushed under persecutions as despotic as ever disgraced the Star Chamber. That this cruel tyranny defeated its purpose was seen in the number of escapes from the overcrowded gaols, and still more impressively in the vast additions made to the cause from among the more intellectual and more moral members of society. Wherever the Bishop looked he must have seen signs that filled his mind with apprehension for the future of his country, and caught at the prospect of a restoration of the royal exile—with securities the Prince was well known to be ready to give—as the only means of averting national ruin and social disorganization.

Secret communications had reached him, and he had several private conferences with confidential agents, as well as with influential adherents with whom he had long been intimate. The high

character, and the political as well as intellectual eminence of the Bishop of Rochester, made his accession to the cause of the exiled Prince an object of paramount importance, and nothing appears to have been left unsaid to induce him to aid in a new effort to effect James's restoration; yet at least two years were suffered to elapse after the discouraging result of the last insurrection, before he ventured to send any written reply to such overtures.

On the 13th of July, 1717, Mr. Paul, a clergyman, and Mr. Hall, a magistrate, were executed at Tyburn, for having joined in the late rising. The former was Vicar of Orton, in Leicestershire, and before he joined Forsten's demonstration he preached to his congregation a sermon on a text from Ezekiel, chap. xxi., verses 26 and 27: "Thus saith the Lord God. Remove the diadem and take off the crown. Exalt him that is low above him that is high. I will overturn, and it shall be no more until he come whose right it is, and I will give it unto him." They suffered death, as did hundreds of other Jacobites, in the conviction that they were martyrs to a holy cause.

Another clergyman, the Rev. John St. Quintin, was fined and imprisoned for having drunk the health of James III.—a very common offence at the time; the Rev. Lawrence Howel was heavily fined for writing "The Case of Schism:" but the strongest manifestation of repugnance to the reigning family was exhibited at Oxford, where a riot took place on the Prince of Wales's birthday, September 30th.

A deep sense of indignation was excited by the

cruelties that came under the Bishop's observation, and the discreditable proceedings of the Hanoverian Court; and, no doubt much influenced by the extent to which his party were committed to the cause of hereditary right, he at last wrote direct to the exiled Prince.

James Murray, who is represented as in confidential communication with the Bishop, under the assumed name "Morpeth," was the second son of David, fifth Viscount Stormont. He had sat in Parliament for Elgin, and in Queen Anne's reign was appointed one of the Commissioners for settling the English trade with France. Through him, probably, came earlier communications, but his services in this respect were not continued long, as he quitted England in the following year, to attach himself more closely to James.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

August 15, 1717.

Sir,

I have often reproached myself for my silence after so many encouragements to write, but I depended upon it that the best construction would be put upon that silence by one who was well acquainted with the manner in which I was employed. My heart is better known to you, sir, than my hand; and my actions I hope have spoken for me better than any letters could do; and to those actions I shall always appeal, which I intend, by God's blessing, shall be uniform and entirely of a piece to the last moment of my life.

I have for many years past neglected no opportunity (and particularly no advantage my station afforded me) towards promoting the service. Whatever happens I shall go on in that way, unalterably and firmly, without suffering hopes or fears of another kind to make the least impression upon me.

My daily prayer to God is that you may have success in the

just cause wherein you are engaged. I doubt not but He will at last grant it; and in such a manner as to make it a blessing not only to your fast friends and faithful servants, but even to those who have been and are still most averse to the thoughts of it. God be thanked! their numbers lessen daily. As their divisions increase, their prejudices abate and your cause gathers strength; and what gives me encouragement to believe that God hath undertaken it is, that it is most promoted by their measures who seem most heartily to oppose it. They are either infatuated, or mean differently from what they pretend; and in either case will so prepare and dispose things here at home, that the measures concerted abroad, when they come to take place, will have an easy and certain effect. May I live to see that day! and live no longer than I do whatever is in my power to forward it.

I have written largely to Mr. Morris * upon the present state of affairs here; and shall not fail to obey the directions I have received, and to give all the assistance of which I am capable to those who are engaged in the same service.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

Endorsed by Lord Mar: "Mr. Young [Atterbury] to the King, August 15, O.S., 1717; delivered to the K. by Lord M., November 23, N.S., 1717." †

If this document be entitled to any credit—and it is represented to be the Bishop's holograph—the writer had been many years employed in his correspondent's service. To the latter he asserts that James was better acquainted with his heart than with his writing. Moreover, two years after the complete crushing of a formidable demonstration to produce a change in the Government, he states that the friends of the cause are increasing, and even insinuates that it is being promoted by its greatest

* Duke of Mar. † Stuart Papers. Edited by Glover. 1847.

opponents. Towards the conclusion he acknowledges having received instructions, to which he promises obedience.

It should be borne in mind that Bishop Atterbury was one of the most sagacious prelates in the Anglican Church, as well as a most zealous opponent of Popery; yet here he is found praying for the success of a cause, as well as binding himself to support it, when its success must apparently be the destruction of the Establishment of which he was so distinguished an ornament; and there cannot be a question that his devotion to the faith in which he was educated remained unimpaired to the close of his life.

There exist sufficient reasons for looking closely into the political correspondence attributed to Bishop Atterbury. The endorsement of this letter shows that it had been preserved by a person who, it will presently be proved, was a pensioner of Walpole, and was hired by the Minister to obtain documentary evidence of the Bishop's complicity in the designs of the Pretender. We are told that the Bishop entered into a secret correspondence with the Pretender, as well as with his principal adherents, under all sorts of mystifications, and in a variety of feigned names. He was Young, he was Jones, he was Illington, he was Flint, he was Rigg; in short, there appears to have been no end of his aliases; but the most remarkable thing in those treasonable communications is the absence of any inducement to run the risk of sending them. There were the strongest possible arguments for avoiding it—the loss of posi-

tion and of character, the certainty of his family being compromised, and his losing the society of his friends. The individual to whose cause he was so rashly devoting himself was in no condition to recompense his services; his resources were at the lowest ebb, and his influence at foreign Courts very trifling. Nevertheless, under these extremely unpromising circumstances, not only the wise and prudent Protestant Bishop, but several temporal peers of the highest reputation as statesmen—Lansdowne, Oxford, Bolingbroke, Ormonde, Shrewsbury, and many others—were engaged in schemes for superseding the well-supported Government of George I. in favour of the son of James II. Political animosity excited the hostilities which drove the Whigs in Queen Anne's reign out of office, and the present proceedings against that party by its opponents may have had the same origin; but there must have been some very powerful exciting cause to make so many public men, gifted with not less prudence than intelligence, combine in this hazardous and apparently hopeless enterprise.

The exile was native born, and though he had embraced the religion of his father, was believed to be of a disposition totally different. His Protestant subjects felt assured he had seen the error of bigotry, and would pursue a contrary course. That a conviction of this nature was impressed upon Bishop Atterbury there is every reason to believe. He was not the man to go blindfold into a dangerous correspondence, however strong may have been his political feelings.

Another curious feature in the affair is, that the

letter attributed to him was more than three months before it reached its destination, and his correspondent took nearly another month before he ventured to answer it.

"James III." wrote a confidential reply to "Robert Young," dated December 15. It concludes with,—

My heartiest thanks for your indefatigable zeal in my service. I can only ask the continuance of it, and that when convenient you will let me hear from you; in making your correspondence as useful as it is agreeable, by imparting to me your advice and opinion with great freedom and frankness: for I can say with truth, that you will never offend me by telling it to me, and that I should not look on you as my friend if you hid it from me. My heartiest good wishes, and all my kindness attend you now by writing, and will, I hope, one day by actions.*

An understanding was thus established between them; but beyond a desire to receive advice, and a vague promise of recompense, there is no inducement to undertake any enterprise, unless it is to be looked for in a preceding passage.

Francis† writes to you in relation to *a certain case*, about which I should be glad to have your advice. I should think Henry would not much regard such a trifle, and that it could not be of any ill consequence, it being a thing in course, and what would be looked on as a slight by others in my station, if they exercised not that privilege.‡

This alludes to a recommendation James was permitted to exercise by the Pontiff for a cardinal's hat, and apparently was meant to be suggestive to his correspondent; but the Protestant Bishop chose to

* Stuart Papers. Edited by Glover.

† The Duke of Mar, Secretary of State to James, and at the same time *secretly the paid agent of Walpole.*

‡ Stuart Papers.

consider it only as a request for advice as to the expediency of not exercising the privilege. The Prince was so desirous of standing well with English Protestants, that he had recently dismissed a Romish priest, Father Inese, from St Germains, for an indiscretion, in erroneously translating a document James had addressed to them, giving meanings to some passages with which they had been offended.

Bishop Atterbury, according to authorities that have been deemed trustworthy, was in confidential communication with the leading Jacobites abroad and at home. It has even been asserted that he had scarcely been recognized as a counsellor of the exiled Prince when he began to betray a jealousy of James's ablest supporters, Lord Oxford (Harley) and the Duke of Mar just mentioned. In a letter imputed to him, he denied entertaining such feelings, and it is probable that the reports of disagreements were only gossip. He must have been looked up to with confidence by the friends of the cause in both Houses of Parliament, as well as elsewhere. The member for Saltash, "honest Shippen," one of Walpole's most resolute opponents in the Commons, induced him to become a medium of communication with James.

The letters attributed to Atterbury in the Stuart Papers, if genuine, show that he was in the habit of writing full reports to such active Jacobites as the Duke of Mar, General Dillon, James Murray, &c.; while a Nonjuring clergyman, known as Kelly, alias Johnson, was constantly employed between England and the Continent as a bearer of secret communications. The reported divisions between the Bishop

and Lord Oxford seem to rest upon a passage in one of Lord Mar's letters to the ex-Minister, which refers to another communication from James Murray, who is evidently the source of the report. Mar, who had been raised to a Dukedom by James, writing to Murray, having sufficiently stated his aversion to disputes among the friends of the cause, expresses this opinion: "I have wrote to *Mr. Young*, for whom I have all the value and regard that can be, as *Patricia** has. He had formerly had reason to see that I preferred nobody's opinion and advice to his, and I can assure him that I am not changed."† There are other passages in the correspondence equally creditable to the Bishop, while Lord Oxford's notorious quarrels with Bolingbroke suggest the more probable originator of the jealousy. There had been similar rumours respecting Mar and the Duke of Ormonde, but they are disposed of in a letter from the former to the Bishop.

"I cannot help telling you how glad I am to know that friends with you are now satisfied that all the stories they had heard of differences betwixt their friends *Osborn* and *Morris*‡ are false."§

Early in the year 1717 the exiled Prince drew up a paper for circulation in England, intended to calm the apprehensions of the Protestants for their religion. It appears to have been transmitted to Atterbury before publication, with a letter from James, dated February 15, 1717, in which this important declaration is referred to under a mystification. "Mr.

* The Pretender.
† Stuart Papers.
‡ Mar and Ormonde.
§ Stuart Papers.

Dryden" and Lord Mar wrote to him about the same time upon the same subject.

The Bishop's advice and revision of the paper is solicited. The Prince writes: "I desire that you will, without loss of time, let me know your thoughts *of him*, and what you would advise him to say on this occasion." Lord Mar writes: "You will be so good to make what alterations and additions to it you think needful, to please those it is designed for. You are the fittest person for this, and it is what *Sir Jonathan* * entrusts to you."†

Nothing can be more clearly established than the anxiety of "the Chevalier" to undo the mischief his father's bigotry had excited. It was not merely by the selection of the most zealous Protestant prelate in England as his chief adviser that he wished to show his desire to maintain the Anglican Church in its integrity; he was extremely cautious in his proceedings with the Roman Catholics. Both James and Mar constantly assure the Bishop that they are strongly against permitting them to raise expectations of their religion being advanced by the success of the Jacobite cause. The High Churchman was made to understand that the Establishment would not only be safe if another revolution were effected, but would, as in connection with the State, exercise paramount authority. It was well known that the Prince was about entering into a contract of marriage, and it will be seen in Atterbury's first written reference to this affair as "Sir John's taking a partner,"

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* The Chevalier. † Stuart Papers.

how strongly he enforces the necessity of the Protestants ("Cowley's friends") being conciliated, and the Catholics ("the indiscretions of some") being prevented doing mischief by "unbecoming talk."

The great obstacle in the way of the Chevalier's success was his want of funds. The English Jacobites were liberal in their contributions, and the Duke of Ormonde, on March 13, 1715, had been authorized to borrow for the King's use all that his "loyal subjects" were disposed to give. Subsequently Atterbury had been entrusted with this office, and had recently been urged by the exile, with the customary mystification, to use his most strenuous exertions. "For God's sake take care *the muslin trade* goes on, for without that nothing can be done, and that alone can set all hands to work." *

The Bishop seems to have responded to the appeal by entrusting to one of the confidential agents, for transmission, a large sum he had collected; but John Menzies could not be got to forward the money, or give any account of it, which was a source of great disappointment to the exile.

The marriage of their "King over the water" continued to be a subject of the deepest interest to the Jacobites in the three kingdoms, and their interest deepened into anxiety as they heard of failure after failure of his proposals. He tried the Regent Duke of Orleans, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Modena, the Czar of Russia, and the King of Sweden, but these highly desirable fathers-in-law declined the

* Stuart Papers.

honour. The English Protestants were in raptures when it became known that he was a suitor for the hand of the Princess of Hesse; but the Landgrave proved as obdurate as the preceding fathers. Another delicate negotiation was rumoured to be going on, and it will be seen how earnest was the attention it excited at home. Had James succeeded in forming a union with a Protestant Princess, his chance of success in a new enterprise would have largely increased.

The communication mentioned in the last paragraph of *Robert Young's* letter (the original is in a different handwriting) must here be added, as equally expressing Atterbury's opinions. It betrays at the commencement a very natural reluctance to commit himself by writing.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE EARL OF MAR.

Sir,

No man is, or has been, more heartily concerned for the interest of *the company* than myself; but the promoting it by a correspondence with the factors abroad is a matter which I am not much acquainted with, and which I thought would be more properly transacted by those who are; to whom, therefore, I have, as occasion offered, imparted my sense of things freely, and will continue so to do, particularly with *Morpeth.** Nor shall I be averse towards concerting measures with the other person mentioned†—especially since I find that you so earnestly desire it, whose commands shall always have the utmost weight with me; and I have therefore already taken such measures in that respect as will show that I can overlook all private matters, where the public interest of *the trade* is at stake; and therefore, without troubling you with accounts of what has passed, will apply myself to do what service I can for the future.

Mr. Dryden's paper shall be forthwith reviewed, and the

* James Murray, who appears to have written the letter at the Bishop's dictation.

† The Chevalier.

alterations or additions that may be thought advisable made; and if the person who carries this goes not too soon, that draught may probably bear it company, together with a clause which I have long thought proper to be inserted in Sir John's* friend's paper, in order to ease the minds of those friends of *the company* here, who are apt to see things in the worst light, and to discourage themselves by such prospects.

No news can be more welcome here than that of Sir John's intentions to take *a partner*, especially if it be such a person as *Cowley's friends* can apprehend no inconvenience from. That would be a lucky step indeed, and fruitful of good consequences. A proper use shall be made of what you mention concerning *Lamb;* and indeed there is need of all the light of that kind you can give us, to obviate the indiscretion of some who are joined in the same bottom with us, and who (if I am not much misinformed) talk of *their separate interest* in the joint trade in a manner no ways becoming them.

Your accounts of what has been said here concerning some imaginary differences† abroad have not so much foundation as you may suppose—at least if they have I am a stranger to it. Something of that kind has been whispered, but it has made no noise, nor had any ill effects, and will die away of itself, without you giving yourselves the trouble to confute it. I am afraid that matter has been over-represented to you from hence, for reasons which it is easy to guess at, and therefore needless to explain. But if you take the alarm from anything that indiscreet persons may have said or done on your side, you may assure yourself that they have had little success here; nor have they been able to spread the infection if they intended it. However, it must be owned that the expectations of the Roman Catholics are raised, after an unaccountable manner, and if not checked may be of mischievous consequence. Not that their indiscretion can hinder or retard the event, but it will breed so much jealousy and uneasiness, and infuse such prejudices in men's minds, as cannot afterwards be rooted out, and will put a backgame into the hands of those who will neither want malice nor skill enough to play it.‡

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* Sometimes Sir Jonathan. † With Lord Oxford.

‡ In his anxiety to impress upon his correspondent the necessity of maintaining a Protestant policy, the writer here abandons his assumed character.

It were well if the account of *the muslins* (those I mean which were brought up and transmitted by *one* particular person) were so far stated that the traders might see they have been honorably dealt with by him who was employed in that affair, and who, as yet, is not able to assure them positively that what he sent arrived safe, much less to what purposes it was employed, which is not only a matter of some uneasiness to him, but will make any further attempt of that kind less practicable. Indeed, that former small quantity of the commodity was procured with so much difficulty, that I doubt no further step can be taken on that head with any probability of success till the persons here embarked in the trade can say with assurance that all things are actually agreed upon abroad, and that *the muslins* when got shall remain in the warehouses here at home till they are delivered out on a proper occasion.* And whether even such assurance may produce what may be expected I cannot say. I am rather apt to think they will not. This is necessary to be said that there may be no dependence upon us here for what we are not likely to perform. This you may depend on—that the inclinations of people here are not altered of late, unless it be for the better; but their hopes are sunk for want of proper encouragements, which has indisposed some of them to think that they ought to make the best of what they do not like; and there are those who will rertainly pursue that thought next winter, if nothing intervenes to hinder them.†

What is doing cannot be kept with too much secrecy, here or elsewhere, till it is done, and when done need not be concealed; for as soon as it is known it will give such discouragements on one side, and raise such hopes on the other, as will make more than an amends for any ill consequences that may happen upon such discovery—provided execution be not too long delayed. The great point is so to order matters as to make men judge that the thing will succeed, and that it is their interest it should succeed. Whatever contributes to give them these views facili-

* The writer suggests that all funds collected in England shall remain in the country till an enterprise can be attempted, for which it could be employed to advantage. There had evidently been an intention of repeating that of 1715.

† The dissatisfaction created by the Hanoverian prepossessions of George I. had become so intense as to excite a desire among the most enterprising Jacobites to express their nationality in some particularly decided manner.

tates the end, and therefore I cannot forbear saying on this head that the seeming enemies of the cause have done it more service than the real friends of it. Indeed, the friends of it can be of little service but in two particulars—the giving you true and full accounts of facts relating to persons and things here, and the doing what in them lies to prevent those conjunctions of different interests which may retard the event.

In the first of these I hope you have been well informed; and as to the latter, we have not been idle; but without the assistance of those who would be thought to mean nothing less than the interest they have really served, we could scarcely have compassed it. As for gaining particular men by particular applications, I think no industry or skill that may be employed in that matter can be of any great use. The business is so to order things as that men shall convince themselves, and see where their own and the public interest lies; and when that comes to pass (and I think it is not now very far from coming to pass) they will soon find out fit persons to open their minds to, and lay hold of proper occasions to declare themselves. And this effect (to return to my point) must chiefly be owing (as it hath already chiefly sprung) from the cause I mentioned; and your sincere friends would over-value their own merit too much if they pretended to any great share in it.

I saw not E. at his return, nor, it may be, was it proper I should. To prevent mistakes for the future, I will employ nobody but who comes directly from myself, and impart nothing but in my own hand, or *Mr. Morpeth's*. The result of any discourse I shall have with Houghton* will be sure to reach you by his means. You will, I suppose, have a full account of affairs here from his and other hands.

What I have written is not out of the vain hope of being useful, but merely to express my readiness to comply with what you, sir, judge proper; and to acknowledge the honour of your several letters; and to assure you (as I do very sincerely) that there is not a man in the world who values your good opinion, or is with more respect, sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

R. YOUNG.

* Lord Oxford.

One particular deserves a postscript. I have for some time had accounts from a sure hand that the D. of R.* is rightly disposed, and that nothing hinders his joining himself to our friends but an apprehension that two persons, declared bastards by an Act in King Charles the Second's time (especially one of them now with *Sir John*), may have such an interest in him as may be to his prejudice hereafter. Remove this jealousy and he is yours entirely.

You will please to let me have that letter from *Sir John* which lies in your hands, as soon as a proper opportunity offers, and to procure the other three which were written for, and which I will undertake to deliver.†

This communication was endorsed by Lord Mar: "*Mr. Young* to *Mr. Morris*, L.M.; brought by *Mr. Swift* in a packet to *Mr. Dutton*,‡ and delivered to Morris at Bourget, September 29, N.S., 1717."

What should strike the careful reader in the perusal of the foregoing, is the incautious mingling of the real and the fictitious. A shrewd statesman would find no difficulty in penetrating the thin veil of mystery thrown over the epistle. In the postscript, the "D. of R." is obviously John, created Marquis of Granby and Duke of Rutland, March 29, 1703, and the two persons stigmatized as illegitimate the sons of his divorced wife, Lady Anne Pierrepoint. This reference to the Duke, however, shows that disaffection had reached the most distinguished personages at Court, so as to make it appear that the son of James II. was likely to repeat the experiment of James's son-in-law. There were, however, marked differences in the characters as well as

* Rutland. † Stuart Papers.

‡ The names in *italics* stand for Bishop Atterbury, Lord Mar, Ogilvie, and General Dillon.

in the positions of the two adventurers—one possessing the qualities and the resources to insure success, the other being so deficient in both as to render failure almost a certainty.

The *Dryden* paper was well considered by the Bishop, and having received his improvements was copied by the Nonjuror who frequently acted as his secretary, and forwarded by Murray to Lord Mar. It is mentioned in the following letter, and bears the same date with the title, "Memorial, containing an Account of the present State of Affairs in E." It will be seen how the sanguine politician built on the disorders that disgraced the family of the reigning sovereign.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

December 14, 1717.

Sir,

'Tis with a particular satisfaction that I now write to you, the state of affairs here at home being much altered for the better since my last, and the alterations produced being of such a nature as cannot fail of improving themselves into further consequences for the advantage of the cause. You have a general representation of them in the *Memorial* now transmitted, and will receive, at the same time, other accounts, how this new scene operates upon particular persons, and disposes them to receive such impressions for *Mr. Knight's** service, as they could not before be brought to entertain. And, without pretending to any deep skill in men or things, I will venture to say that every day will produce more and more instances of this kind, and that men's eyes will open gradually towards seeing their own and the public interest; and this will be brought in them chiefly by their own reflections on what has passed, without their needing to be much solicited by others towards a change of their conduct or opinions, so that you may look on

* The Chevalier.

and stand still, and let causes here at home produce their effects, whilst you are ripening the great scheme which is to fall in with these dispositions, and which (after all) can alone render them significant, while we continue under the power of a standing army.

I have always thought that *Mr. Knight's* enemies here at home were the only friends that could in our present circumstances effectually serve him. Every day has persuaded me more and more of this truth, and I am astonished when I look back on the several steps successively taken by them, than which the wit of man could not have found out better towards promoting the common end we aim at; particularly this last step, whereby the breach has been made between K. G. and the P.,* has been so happily conducted, that if you, sir, had had the direction of affairs here, you could not have thought of anything more useful, or managed it more skilfully, than they have done.

From my heart I cannot help thinking that they desire this step should be understood abroad as a plain instance of their good intentions to the cause, by the impossibility they have put themselves under of being well with the successor, and by the plain tendency of what they have done towards defeating his succession; and this I am rather induced to believe because he among them who has the chief sway in the present councils is a man of great penetration and reach, and of admirable dexterity, and very far from that character of rashness and madness that some people have given him.†

I wish I may be in the right in this opinion, for then everything will go on smoothly and easily; but whether this be their immediate view or not, I am persuaded that they may be so pressed and distressed as to be forced by the end of this session to take shelter under a scheme which will appear to be the only one that can save them from the resentments of their enemies. For it is certain that upon the foot that things at present stand the present Ministry cannot stand long; and, therefore, our business here is to procure either an union or opposition of interests—so far as is necessary to facilitate this end, if the Ministry design it, or to force them to it, if they do not—and in order to it, to leave nothing unattempted towards keeping

* King George and the Prince of Wales.

† This probably refers to Lord Sunderland.

every single Tory that may have his eye on a place at Court from closing with any motion of that kind: and in this, if we succeed, it is the greatest service that in our present circumstances we can possibly do.

In the meantime I have good reason to say to you, that Bernsdorf,* who has taken upon him the office of mediating in this quarrel and procuring a reconciliation, has owned that he saw the English Ministry were averse to it, and seemed to have other views, but, nevertheless, he would endeavour to go through with it. I can assure you also that the Germans are by no means pleased with Stanhope, who, though rash in the field, has acted with a very remarkable wariness in the Treasury; and showed great unwillingness to part with a shilling of the public money in any way but what he could justify, which is the very worst fault he could be guilty of towards those who have no other way beside the misapplication of the public money, to make themselves amends for their exclusion from places. Let me add one thing more, which I have good reason to believe, that many of the Whigs who voted for the standing army, and helped the Court to carry it by fourteen, have since told the Ministers that it was a very hard service, and that they will not be put upon such things for the future; and that this declaration has so far affected the men in power as to incline them to drop their favourite Bill for repealing the Test Act, together with the Schism Act and that against Occasional Conformity. At present they are under irresolution in that point; whether they will gain strength and spirit enough to renew that attempt after the holidays we shall see—but I rather think they will not.

These things put together convince me that Stanhope and Sunderland cannot tide it out longer than this session, though Cadogan possibly may; and if so there is but one thing in the world that they can wisely resolve upon. They see at this present, after they have taken all the odium upon themselves of inflaming this quarrel, a foreign Minister interposing, without their consent, to heal it, and to undo all they have been doing. And what can they expect from hence but a further opposition to their schemes? And what way is there but one of their

* One of George I.'s Hanoverian favourites.

screening themselves from the effect of such measures? At this moment Bernsdorf is looking out for new men to come in to the aid of the Court, and do the foreigners, as well as their master's business; and he thinks he shall find such in a few months' time, and make up a motley number of men for that purpose. This the English Ministers who have now the chief direction cannot miss seeing, and seeing it one would think they should in some measure prepare for it.

I trouble you with no more reflections of this kind, but apply myself to consider the several particulars in your letter of October 9 which require my answer. *Sir John's* marriage is a subject to which his friends have applied their thoughts with the utmost attention and concern. 'Tis their unanimous opinion (as far as I have been able to collect it) that no time should be lost towards accomplishing it, if the person be such as will be welcome to his friends here; but if such a match cannot immediately be provided, and there be a probability of an attempt this spring, they think it much more for his service to postpone the marriage till that attempt is over, than to finish it now in such a manner as may administer jealousy and uneasiness to any of those whose best wishes and endeavours are united in his service. And this, sir, is particularly the opinion of one to whom *Sir John* has lately written (Mr. B.) and whom I have freely discoursed on that occasion. I cannot stop here without explaining my own sentiments further on this head, and begging you to make the most favourable construction of them. Sure I am there is not a word I shall say on this head but what proceeds from an heart entirely devoted to Sir John's interest.

I cannot without the deepest concern reflect on the ill consequences that will attend Sir J.'s engaging in a match that will not be welcome to his friends. I am satisfied that, should it lay no effectual bar in his way to his pretensions, yet, after he is possessed of them it would fill the rest of his life with perpetual uneasiness, and give his enemies such an handle as they will not fail to make use of towards perplexing every step of his affairs. I see methinks how, and how successfully they will work in this case; and how impossible it will be for the wisest and honestest men living to prevent the influence of their malicious endeavours. I could say more, but choose rather to excuse myself for saying so much on this head, and pass on to the other particulars of your letter.

The accounts sent to you of Lord P.* gave me the greatest surprise and uneasiness, because I was so far from having any hand in transmitting that report that I did all I could towards discountenancing it when it first arose, and everywhere declared my opinion of it as an idle groundless tale; nor did one of my friends that I know of give any credit to it. 'Tis impossible to advise at this distance what should properly be done to retrieve that mistake, but surely good words and good usage are the best after-games that can be played. And this, together with the ridiculous account of the quarrels here, which by this time have reached that lord, may perhaps dispose him at last to pursue his interests rather than his resentments.

What I said of the R. C.'s† expectations being unaccountably raised was true at that time when I wrote, and they were very liberal in their declarations that somewhat of importance was doing "for our relief," which gave a needless alarm and did no real service. But all that has died away since, and at present there is no ground for complaints of this kind, everybody sitting silent and quiet, and pleasing themselves with the odd management here at home without raising any expectations from abroad. And in the present situation of affairs I am glad they do not, for our domestic divisions and folly are sufficient for the present to keep up men's spirits without being told that certain relief is near at hand. There was indeed a time when one would have been glad to have encouraged people by some particular accounts of what was agitating abroad, and when they were so dispirited as to seem to want such a cordial, and that was what I meant in my last. But now what they see here pleases them so much that they can wait with a little patience for what they do not see or hear.

As to the affair of *the muslins* in relation to what is past, 'tis my earnest desire that no more may be said of it. I am now pretty well acquainted with the whole of it, and not willing to give you, sir, or anybody further trouble on that head. In respect to what you desire may be done, the gentleman

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* Peterborough. It was given out that his lordship had gone abroad with the intention of killing the Pretender, which had induced some of James's zealous adherents to waylay him, and take him prisoner.

† Roman Catholics.

intrusted* will by my word of mouth open the state of that matter fully to you, or to some one that shall fully explain it to you; nor can you reasonably hope for any further steps to be taken by the hand you wish to be employed in that affair.

A proper use has been made of what you wrote about the D—— of R——, and I doubt not but, in concurrence with what has happened here at home of late, it will have its due weight. I join implicitly in all besides that Mr. M.† writes to you, and am, with that entire respect that becomes me, sir, your ever faithful and obedient servant, &c.

The three letters were received with all possible respect, and will have their use, though they do not as yet produce their answers. Indeed one of the persons is at a distance, and another of them in a place where it is not easy for him to begin such a correspondence. The third has beforehand given such effectual proofs of his zeal as may excuse a little delay in making a compliment.‡

The original of this paper is endorsed by John Paterson: "Mr. Rigg to Lord Mar. Received at Urbino, February 3, N.S., 1718."

It is sufficiently evident that some enterprise was in contemplation, and was to be attempted while Parliament was sitting. In other communications of this period it is referred to as "the mantle affair;" but the Bishop appears to have declined any open participation, though he is said to have influenced Lord Arran, Foley, Mansell, Bingley, Dartmouth, the Bishop of Hereford (Dr. Gastrell), and Mr. Shippen to lend their aid.

Atterbury did not write to the Pretender again, though often written to, till the summer of the following year; nevertheless, he is represented to have been in active correspondence with his principal partisans,

* This was the Nonjuror Kelly. † Stuart Papers.
‡ James Murray.

Mar and Murray—both subsequently, be it remembered, his bitter enemies.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

June 14, 1718.

Sir,

I refer myself to Mr. Morpeth* for an account of the delay I have been guilty of in answering those letters which I have at different times received, and about which I have always freely communicated my thoughts to him who wrote more constantly. At the same time I beg to lay hold of a passage in one of them, wherein the writer is pleased, in the most obliging manner, to say, that "where the heart and actions speak plainly and effectually, even a long silence needs no apology." I humbly thank him for that, and a hundred other instances of his goodness, which have made impressions upon me too deep to be ever effaced. I can truly add that I was so afflicted by a reflection on one of the chief subjects of these letters (relating to some supposed differences, and, as far as I am concerned, real mistakes), that I had not heart to take up my pen for some time, and chose rather to stay till that matter had cleared up itself a little, than to make any attempt on my side to clear it, being entirely in the dark as to the occasion of it. Permit me, sir, to say, with the greatest truth and earnestness, that as I have nothing at heart but the service of the cause, so I will never give in to any measures that may weaken it. I will do all in my power to hinder or extinguish jealousies, but will never do anything to raise or inflame them. I have but one point in view, and whatever tends to that shall be embraced by me; and whoever promotes it shall be sure of my approving his conduct, and endeavouring to make all others approve it, as far as I am able. And should any contrary report ever reach your ear, from whatever hand soever it may come, do me the justice, sir, to believe that it is impossible to be true. Were I nearer the scene of these little differences, and the persons who have their share in them, I would give more convincing proofs of what I say; at present I can go no farther than professions—time and opportunity must clear the truth of them.

* James Murray.

Mr. Morpeth has removed my fears in relation to the state of your health. I pray God for the continuance of it, and say nothing to you, sir, on another melancholy subject,* because your experience of such repeated misfortunes has, I am sure, perfectly taught you to bear them. And yet having thoroughly persuaded myself of this principle, that everything that happens to us is for the best, I doubt not but it will be verified in the event, even as to this particular.

Your resolutions as to Steele,† which you were pleased some time ago to communicate, had my entire approbation, if it be fit for me to use that word; for I could not but see that the indiscretion of some well meaning persons from that quarter had been attended with ill consequences.

Of the affair of the cap, I freely delivered my opinion to Morpeth as soon as I had notice of it. My wishes in that case sprang from a peculiar tenderness I have as to everything that may give a check to the zeal of any of those that wish well, or an handle to those that wish otherwise. Whatever has been or shall be done in this matter will, I hope, make but little noise, and if so, can do but little mischief. In itself it seems a point of great indifference; but there are those who may lay hold of it, and improve it to ill purposes.

It is in vain for us here to express our desires or opinions in relation to Marsfield.‡ We are too much at a distance from the circumstances of things to be able to form an exact judgment upon them; but we are sure that nothing would give us greater prospect of lasting happiness than to see that matter completed in such a way as might remove all jealousies and objections present and future. The blessings of that great event we hope for can, as we conceive, be no ways so well facilitated at first, or secured to us afterwards.

And thus, sir, I have, with that freedom which becomes me (because you commanded it), delivered my thoughts upon a subject of the greatest importance, and on which I otherwise should not have ventured to have touched.

The enclosed letter from Stowe § has been some time in my

* The death of James's mother, Mary of Modena.

† The dismissal of Father Inese.

‡ The marriage of the Pretender.

§ William Shippen, M.P. for Saltash.

hands, and should have had an earlier passage. None has better affections or greater courage, or has done more effectual service than he. For what relates to the present state of affairs I refer myself to Mr. Martel*, to whom I have written largely about them, and will no further interrupt you, sir, than by adding, that I am, with an unalterable zeal, &c.†

Endorsed by Lord Mar: "Mr. Rigg to the King, June 14, 1718." Received at Urbino, August 20.†

* Duke of Mar. † Stuart Papers.

CHAPTER XII.

BISHOP ATTERBURY'S PLOT.

The Pretender writes to Lord Cadogan—The Bishop to Lord Mar, respecting the Whig Government — Dismissal of Lord Townsend—Trial of Lord Oxford—Bishop Atterbury describes to Lord Mar the State of Parties—Duke of Ormonde sent by James to Russia—Atterbury writes a Secret Letter to General Dillon—Marriage of the Pretender with the Princess Clementina Sobieski—Another treasonable Communication from the Bishop—Cardinal Alberoni and Spain—Bishop Atterbury to James III. and General Dillon on the State of the Jacobite Cause—Mismanagement of the Leaders—Atterbury desired to take the Direction—Correspondence between Pope and Atterbury—Fatal Illness of Mrs. Atterbury—Publications against the Parliament and Hanoverian Succession—Atterbury to Lord Oxford—His Liberality to Dr. Fiddes—Walpole's Proposals to Atterbury rejected—Death of Marlborough—Letters of Pope and Atterbury.

As "James III." was stigmatised as "the Pretender" by the Government, the Jacobites mentioned George I. only as "the Duke of Hanover," or in their secret communications designate him as "Herne." He is so named in the Bishop's letters. It may be observed that details of the Court figure in his expositions as prominently as political intelligence.

He was as well informed as to what was going on in the Palace as he was respecting the proceedings of

the principal Ministers. In the next communication there is a reference to Lord Cadogan, to whom James had addressed a secret letter, which his lordship thought proper to make public. It is evident that the Bishop was not considered sufficiently active as a correspondent, his counsel being required about the marriage (*Marsfield*) and the Cardinal's hat—"the cap;" but his explanation ought to have been deemed satisfactory. The notice the writer gives of the Nonjuring clergyman "Johnson" (Kelly) is not without interest.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

June 15, 1718.

Sir,

I ask your pardon for my dilatoriness in writing, but my sense of things (such as it was) being always frankly and immediately given to *Mr. Morpeth*, who constantly corresponded with you, I thought my repeating it under my own hand might well be spared, particularly in relation to *Marsfield* and *the cap*, in both which cases I declare my sense of things to agree entirely with yours, and doubt not but you received early notice of it. I have also waited for *Mr. Johnson's** going a good while, intending always to make use of that opportunity; and he is but this moment parting from us. My fault is universal in this respect. I do not remember since his being here last *that I have written a syllable to anybody out of England.*† I know not why he stayed so long, for it was not at my instance; but I must do him the justice to say that in the little conversation I have had with him (and it has been in all this time but very little) I have observed him to behave with a good deal of reserve and prudence, more than I think usually belongs to his age and degrees of experience. He has been far from meddling here, or venturing to enter with me into matters foreign to what I apprehend to have been the design of sending him. If he

* Kelly.

† This is clear evidence that his communications had not been so frequent as was subsequently alleged.

mistook my thoughts upon a certain occasion (as he must have mistaken them under that construction which is put upon his words), I will take effectual care that he shall mistake them no more, and perhaps I am not likely to see him here again on the like occasion.

My distance from you, and *my natural indisposition towards correspondence of this kind** (especially at a juncture when so many and such malicious eyes are upon me), have made me seem wanting in the expressions of my respect, but my heart has never wanted nor shall ever want it, nor shall anybody outgo me in a real and disinterested regard for your character and eminent services. I have been desirous to know what expectations *Peter*† might have from any of *Herne's* servants, because I thought if any light of that kind could be gained I might possibly find a way to make a right use of it; but M.‡ has told me, from too good authority, that there are no particular reasons to expect any good from that quarter. I had other hopes when I heard it affirmed to me by a person of consequence that you, sir, had written to Cadogan, and that he had seen the letter; for though he told me at the same time that Cadogan had showed it to George, I was not much shocked with that account, because whatever disposition he was in yet thus he would probably have acted: but since what M. has related to me, my hopes of this kind have little or no ground to stand upon; and therefore our business must be when *Perry* § comes to make that a matter of necessity to them, which they will not it seems make a matter of choice. And I believe the present ill situation and worse prospect of affairs, together with a junction of certain interests that may be made, will probably facilitate this event. It might be so I am sure, were we who wish it as wise and as united as we ought to be. The only danger is lest matters by such a junction should be pushed too far and too hastily so as not to leave them room to run in; for should they be utterly overrun and make room again for Townshend and his people, or any other set of men whatsoever, our condition would be much worse than it is even at present. But these are thoughts of some distance. God grant that our deliverance may not be so far off!

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* This is noteworthy.

† James.

‡ Hon. James Murray.

§ The meeting of Parliament.

We have been revived within some few days with a glimpse of hope from France. Two or three expresses from thence have given the Court great uneasiness, so as to dispatch Lord Stanhope by post yesterday morning; but of this you will hear other ways sooner than my letter can reach you; and referring you, therefore, to what I have further to say in the enclosed paper, I forbear to add more, but my resolution ever to be, sir, your most obedient and faithful servant, &c.

This is endorsed by Paterson "Mr. Rigg to Lord Mar, June 15, 1718." Received at Urbino, August 20th.*

Walpole had taken an active share in forwarding the repressive measures of the Whigs, nevertheless when Lord Townshend was dismissed from his employment as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in April, 1717, he resigned with the Duke of Devonshire, Pulteney, and Methuen. This is said to have been an intrigue of Sunderland and Stanhope, who followed the King to Hanover, and prejudiced His Majesty's easily prejudiced mind against his able and useful ministers Townshend and Walpole. As a matter of course the ill-used statesmen went into Opposition. Their being out of office was taken advantage of by the friends of Lord Oxford to bring his case forward. He was brought to trial on the 1st of July, and the Commons not appearing to press the charges against him, he was acquitted, and resumed his place in the House of Peers on the 3rd.

The following despatch is remarkable for its exposure of the state of political parties in England. It particularly refers to a section of the Opposition that

* Stuart Papers.

had gone over to the Government, contemptuously designated "the *Herne* Tories." The condition of the Court and the administration is depicted with singular force and fidelity.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

Since *Morpeth's* departure from hence it may perhaps be proper to give some account of the present state of affairs, and to add some reflections upon it, which may be made use of as those to whom they are sent may see occasion.

The open ferment and struggle of parties, and the outward marks of aversion to *Herne* and his managers, are not, for obvious reasons, so great as formerly. It is certain, however, that the spirit of the disaffection is so far from dying away that it rather increases every day, and gets ground even among those who are the avowed friends of *Herne*, and who begin to see and say that in the way which we at present are in our ruin is unavoidable. The monied men of *Walls* * are not without their apprehensions for the credit of the funds, which, though kept up hitherto by the art and zeal of some particular men, yet are certainly in an unreputable condition, sinking or falling with every rumour from abroad, of which we have now a very remarkable instance; for upon Selinger's† sudden journey, and the speculations it naturally occasioned, the funds fell two per cent. immediately. Certain it is, that as soon as it plainly appears that we must take our share in the present war, they will fall much faster; and when they do so paper credit will begin to receive a blemish, everybody endeavouring to turn bills into specie, and throwing them in upon the bankers for that purpose, who are in no condition to answer the demands which will then be made, or even to dissemble the true reason of their inability to answer them. The consequence of this will be an universal stop to all payments and to all dealings that require to be carried on by sums of money. This is the certain consequence, I say, of our being manifestly involved in this war, and the only thing that prevents it at present is the art and industry used to persuade people that notwithstanding

* The speculators. † Lord Stanhope.

all appearances to the contrary, we shall in that event get clear of it. The moment there is six difference between a bank bill of £100 and so much in specie we are undone; and that will be the case in a very little time after we have plainly dipped ourselves in this war, and have made new extraordinary expenses necessary, at a time when we are altogether unable to support the old ones. How the funds are kept up is a mystery, for certain it is that even some courtiers and monied Whigs have silently withdrawn great part of their effects from thence, as the Tories of note have almost universally; and there are few concerned in them who do not think of retreating, and would do it if they knew how otherwise to invest their money; but they defer it in hopes of having time enough for that purpose before the stroke comes, whereas, when it comes, it will, in all probability be a thunder-clap that gives no warning.

It is a certain sign of the firmness of the Tories that they sit quiet, without making any step towards the men in power, and live upon the hopes of schemes which have no great colour of probability in them, but which, however, they rather choose to build upon than depart a jot from their known principles and expectations. The most despicable party in England now are the *Herne* Tories, an handful of men without dependence or credit, and whom both sides equally agree in exposing. There has been a meeting of them lately in Yorkshire at the Archbishop's. *Hill* and *Hickup** were there, and have laid some new scheme for the winter campaign; and one branch of it is adhering immovably to the Court at Richmond. The breach between K. and P.† continues as it was, and will still continue. There is not the least disposition on the King's side towards making it up. He would willingly make up, if he knew how, the disputes among his Whig Ministers; but when a scheme of that kind was offered to him lately, and he seemed inclinable to come into it; and at last it was proposed, at the finishing point, that he and the Prince should be friends, he broke through the whole, and would not listen to anything that was built on that bottom. There is a scheme to get *Perry*‡ at the next meeting to interpose between K. and P., and in an open manner to

* The Rev. Ezekiel Hamilton and Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.

† George I. and the Prince of Wales. ‡ Parliament.

recommend an union: but that thought shows only their despair of effecting the thing any otherwise; for that way it will never be done, since he who is at the head of affairs subsists by that quarrel, and must be ruined as soon as it is made up; and will take care, therefore, by his friends and dependants, to blast such a scheme, and will be sure of all the Tories' assistance towards it.

The differences between *Selenger* and C.* increase. Should M. drop they would come to a point and flame out with violence; and they would be to one another then what T. and S.† are now. At present their uneasiness towards each other is very great, and on Selenger's side is undissembled. But M.‡ is likely to live, whatever accounts you may have heard to the contrary; and while he lives that quarrel will be in some measure suspended. However, without that accident this triumvirate is so little of a piece that it cannot, I think, possibly stand firm for another session, even though no shock should be from abroad. The inconveniences here at home which they labour under, and their private misunderstandings, are of themselves sufficient to sink them. In the meantime, either these differences among themselves, or some other secret causes, hinder them from inquiring strictly into what is doing to the prejudice of *Herne* both at home and abroad. Never did messengers pass to and fro more freely—never was the port to appearance less watched. Nobody is hurt that does not throw himself in the way imprudently. Informations are sometimes officiously given concerning transactions on foot, but no effectual care is taken to discover the men or the measures by which they are carried on; nor do those whose peculiar business it is to search into these things seem at all to concern themselves in them, though they are forced now and then to commit and examine a person upon particular information given, and then dismiss him without any hurt done or light gained by that means. *Herne*, in the meantime, is soothed up with new pleasures and new mistresses; English ladies and a garden take up all his time, and his indolence and ignorance of his affairs are both more remarkable than ever; and this scene of life is not casual, but plainly contrived for him.

* Stanhope and Cadogan. † Lords Townshend and Sunderland.
‡ Duke of Marlborough.

Should any accident happen, they who manage under him have no refuge: their heads must answer for what they have contrived and done; and perhaps, without even any formal process of law, vengeance would be taken of them. Nor would they have any method of saving themselves but by a voluntary exile, should they have time enough to get away upon such an occasion. This, doubtless, they are aware of, for the chief of them, S., wants no sagacity and foresight, but is a man of unquestionably great abilities; and yet they seem to take no single step towards avoiding this storm—none at least that we know of. As the fastest friends of the present settlement have been all along gradually removed and disgraced, so are some of them even now that still continue in the service far from receiving the encouragements they have promised themselves. Witness the instance of the Bishop of Bangor,* who has not been considered in the late promotion, nor allowed to succeed even to the Deanery of the Chapel, which the Lord S. moved G. two years ago to make void in order to bestow it upon him; but has moved and effected that point now that he is in full power, though without considering him. All hands are at work to worry him; even the refugees are let loose upon him; and Pillonniere, against whom Dubourdieu, of the Savoy, has written a long and scurrilous book, certainly not without secret encouragement. And I have some reason to believe that Creane† will be permitted to hold next winter that assembly which was dismissed purely to hinder any proceedings against that favourite. What all these things mean I pretend not to say, and wish you on your side could unriddle them better than we can here. However, facts they are, and true ones; and it is fit they should be laid before you for your observation.

I should have told you before that the loans of public money lately attempted come in with a very remarkable slowness; even the land and the malt tax have not been able to tempt men to venture any farther, which has brought upon the borrowers some inconveniences and much disreputation.

This being the true representation of things, it may be expected that the inference from thence should be, that such a scene of general satisfaction must of itself produce the event,

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* Dr. Hoadly. † Archbishop Wake.

and will need no other aid when duly ripened and put in motion by a proper occasion. But that is far from being the case; nor will all these fair appearances signify anything if left to work by themselves. That one word *Adamson* * is a charm that lays all of them to sleep; and without another opposite Adamson nothing can or will be done. We may change hands among ourselves, and shift from bad to worse, but shall never get the bridle out of our mouths, or throw the rider, unless *Ker* and *Shaw*, or *Otway*,† do some or all of them contribute to bring about the event, and then indeed, with a little of their help, it will become easy.

I forgot to tell you that *Adamson* is very quiet, and we hear of no complaints from any part of the country concerning him. He lives more inoffensively with his neighbours than he has ever hitherto done.‡

After this lucid and statesmanlike report on the finance, King, Government, Church, and army, the writer concludes by expressing an opinion that without a military force from France, Spain, or Sicily, there was no prospect of making a change in England, bad as the condition of the country undoubtedly was. It was this opinion that induced James to exert himself to obtain such support. With that object an embassy was sent to the Czar Peter of Russia, consisting of the Duke of Ormonde, Sir Henry Stirling, Daniel O'Brien, and Messrs. Jerningham and Wigan, to negotiate an amicable arrangement between Charles XII., King of Sweden, and the Czar Peter, for a combination in favour of James, as well as a marriage of James with a daughter of the Russian monarch. The Duke failed in his mission; the two northern powers could not at this period be brought

* The army. † The Kings of Spain and Sicily and the Regent Orleans.
‡ Stuart Papers.

into union for that purpose, or any other, and the Czar would not bestow his daughter on a king without a kingdom. A combination, however, between the Czar and the Kings of Prussia and Sweden seemed so near accomplishment, that a special envoy was despatched from St. James's to the Regent of France for the arrangement of measures to oppose any enterprise in favour of the Pretender.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.*

June 16 [O.S.], 1718.

Sir,

I have a thousand thanks to give you for frequent favours, but I have expected for some time to hear that *Mr. Johnson* had his orders to return, and have waited that opportunity, and *therefore I have not till this moment written a line any whither since his second coming.* Excuse me, sir, and believe that this negligence has sprung from no other cause but a willingness to make use of a proper method of conveyance, and a backwardness towards employiug the post on such occasions, which I have never yet made use of, nor ever intend. By this time I hope you have seen *Mr. Onslow*,† and discoursed him concerning the various adventures of his long unsuccessful journey, which have given his friends here a great deal of concern, and to none of them, I can truly affirm, more than to myself; for my apprehensions were early of the improbability of the attempt, and under that view I saw how uneasy his situation and long absence must be, on an hundred accounts. But his supporting himself under this last trial with his usual evenness of mind and firmness, has added—if anything can add—to the honour of his character.

Egan‡ will in person give you full accounts of the state of affairs here, and I shall add some reflections of my own in a separate paper, which you will please to communicate to *Mr. Onslow*, and to nobody else. A duplicate of it goes by this

* Lieutenant-General in the French service, and confidentially employed by James.

† Duke of Ormonde. ‡ Sir Redman Everard.

packet to *Mr. Knight*,* so that you need not give yourself the trouble of copying it for him. We are surprised at the sudden resolution here taken to send Lord Stanhope, and judge that the expresses upon expresses which have of late been received here, must contain matter of great uneasiness to *Herne's* people, and are willing to hope from thence that *Otway* may have entertained resolutions of altering his conduct, and taking his part in good earnest in the concerted scheme, which though it may distress us extremely, yet will scarce produce the event desired without his particular concurrence and assistance.

However, as it is possible it may do without him; methinks he judges ill of his own interests if he does not resolve to have an hand in it. We are at a gaze in these matters, and hope the mist will soon clear up to our advantage; and shall impatiently expect some account of the steps taken, or likely to be taken, in this matter, especially since we apprehend that if *Otway*, in good earnest, mixes in this affair, the old scheme of your going towards Jassen (Italy) may take place, and put us upon new methods of correspondence; but of this we shall soon hear from you. In the meantime referring you as to what I have further to say of public affairs, to the memorial enclosed, I will add only, in relation to *Mrs. Johnson*,† that her behaviour here has been very prudent, and much to my satisfaction, and such as I think no just exception can be made against. And thus much I have thought myself obliged to say in those packets which accompany these, and which you are desired to forward, for I declare to you I never met a person of her age that conducted herself with more wariness and prudence.

The great subject of your former obliging letters being, since Onslow's return, no longer a matter of great concern to us, I forbear to trouble you with my reflections upon them. Our thoughts and eyes at present are turned another way. Pray God it may be to more purpose.

Please to forward the enclosed to Mr. White, and to believe me, with sincere and great respect, to be, sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

YOUNG.

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* James III.

† George Kelly. His integrity appears to have been doubted.

John O'Brien endorsed this: "*Mr. Rigg's* letter to Dutton, of the 14th of June, O.S., 1718." * The signature, however, is the same as that Atterbury used in his first letter. The endorser was another of the adventurers in the service of James who subsequently showed their hostility to the Bishop.

James had not been discomfited by the number of his rejected addresses. He discovered that there was still a Princess to whose hand he might aspire, and sent the Hon. James Murray on a mission to arrange a contract of marriage. The affair was kept a profound secret, even from Bishop Atterbury; nevertheless it became known where there existed the strongest motives to prevent its accomplishment, and measures were speedily taken with that object. The *fiancée* was Clementina, the third daughter of Prince George Sobieski. Everything was satisfactorily arranged between the high contracting parties, and the Princess started to meet her bridegroom, but herself and suite were stopped, by orders of the Emperor, at Innspruck;† but this did not occur till about three months after the date of the Bishop's next communication, from which it is quite clear that he had made up his mind to foreign intervention.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

July 13, O.S., 1718.

Sir,

Yours of July 13 and 16, N.S., were brought me hither

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* Stuart Papers.

† She contrived, however, to resume her journey, joined James in Italy, and they were married, the French Court, notwithstanding its assurances to the English Government, guaranteeing a certain provision with the bride.

by the person under whose cover they came yesterday. I wonder you had not mine before the writing of yours, for I wrote this day month, and it went away, as Allen assured me, on Friday was three weeks; and it is above a week ago that he received an account of its being arrived on the other side of the water. Long before this time it has reached you I suppose. There is nothing in it that will give you any new lights as to matters here, but all tends still to assure you of what I have always said, that you can have no reasonable expectations from hence, and that though nine in ten of the kingdom do most certainly wish well, they will wish only, without stirring a step towards what they wish, unless a body of foreign troops comes to our relief,* of which I find now there is no reasonable hope, for I fear Spain should there be an open rupture between us; and should they have a reserve of troops at the Groyne, as our papers tell us they have, will scarce venture then upon so hazardous a service; though in my conscience if *Evans* and *Sorrell*† must quarrel, and those troops could be sent over before *Frazer*‡ interposed, they would do the work. It is not easy to persuade Sorrell of this, especially if Frazer has engaged to act offensively, who has opportunities of soon crushing such an enterprise; but if he could be wrought upon not to make an early use of them, I am satisfied the design would succeed. However, since *Otway* has gone so far he will certainly go farther, till a new situation of affairs, or a different view he shall take of them, convinces him it is his interest to change his measures. What I have to say in this case, and I say it very sincerely, and wish it could be effectually said to him, is, that if ever our great turn be effected without him, he is undone, for the enmity of *Evans*, which he will in that case deserve and have added to the other prejudices and disadvantages he lies under, will certainly turn the scale against him; nor can he support himself any ways against the weight of the opposition which will then press upon him. But it is in vain to talk this language. Cracked titles will look upon each other as their most natural support, and will act accordingly; still on, till they are both dashed against each other, and broken in

* The Jacobites in the three kingdoms were equally solicitous on this point.
† England and Spain. ‡ France.

pieces; and that sooner or later will be the case, however *Otway* may please himself with short-lived expedients, that have no true solid wisdom at the bottom of them.

Should Peter * gain his point, the case is plain against Otway; should he not, the plain consequence is that *B.*† would be secure; and the moment he is so, or thinks himself so, a rupture between *Evans* and *Frazer* will ensue. The spirit of the people and *Evans's* interest will conspire to bring on that event, which *Otway* probably will endeavour to hinder by so managing the support of *B.* as not to render him too secure, but still under a necessity of courting *Otway's* alliance. Experience tells us that these fine-spun policies often end in a sudden and irretrievable mistake; but of this they whose interest is concerned will think they judge best, and will act accordingly. I depend upon it that they will do so, and therefore crave pardon for these idle though well meant suggestions. What I have to add is, that if *Sorrell* and *Shawe*‡ are so far engaged that they cannot retreat, so that there must be an open rupture between them and *Evans*, that rupture is the next thing we have to wish to *Otway's* not having entered into new engagements with *Knight*§ for even that rupture will distress *Evans* so as to produce in the event great consequences; especially if the northern powers, now said to be agreed, should join their strength to make any impression on *B.'s* territories on the Continent, and by that means hinder *Elmore*,‖ though he should be released from his present war with the Porte, from directing all his force towards Jassen. But I suppose the scheme is, by force or persuasions, to stop the course of *Ker*,¶ and to assure him still of safe and honourable terms by the intervention of *Evans*, notwithstanding the push he may have made and the lengths he may have gone towards making an open and lasting quarrel unavoidable; and for aught I know such a scheme may succeed, and then we are, for a time at least, without all hopes of remedy. However, in that case we must firmly and quietly persevere, and wait for new opportunities when it shall please God to send them.

Egan has written two or three times hither; and I have had

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* James III.
† George I.
‡ Spain and Sicily.
§ James III.
‖ The Emperor.
¶ The King of Spain.

an account of his letters from those to whom he sent them; and so I have had of a late one from *Morpeth*, wherein he says, he has gone upon a journey of business for six weeks, but is not at liberty to tell us the design of it.

As to domestic affairs, I cannot forbear saying to you what you may if you think fit transmit an account of farther, that there are now great endeavours using here to cement a number of men in the House of Lords, who, being out of place, may be willing to join together in opposing the Court at the approaching Sessions, and unite the interest of the Tories and outed Whigs in that opposition. I scarce think they will succeed, though great hands and heads are employed in forwarding this scheme; but should it take effect, I see not that it will tend towards *Knight's* interest, which a change of hands here will no ways serve, especially if those who are his friends should find a way into profit and power, and cover themselves under the pretence of serving by that means, which they would most assuredly afterwards neglect. And, therefore, still my wishes are, and endeavours shall be, that those who are now in the saddle may not be dismounted. Probably such a scheme will not easily take place now when the affairs of the Ministry have succeeded so prosperously with *Otway*, and given them credit enough to live upon perhaps for another session; and credit enough for that purpose they certainly will have, if by the means of this quadruple alliance they are able to deter *Sorrell* and *Shawe* from proceeding any further.

I write this in great haste, the gentleman who brought yours being to go from me to-morrow morning very early. I could not part with him without making my acknowledgments for your last, and for all your favours, and assuring you that I am, with great truth and a very particular esteem, your obedient faithful servant,

YOUNG.

John O'Brien has endorsed this: "Riggs to Dutton, of the 13th of July, O.S."*

The position of the cause of the exiled Prince in England, as described in these reports, accounts for

* Stuart Papers.

the long interval that passed before Atterbury wrote again. He had urged the necessity of seeking foreign aid, without which William of Orange would have failed in overthrowing a much more unpopular monarch than George I.; and to obtain it, James's influential adherents abroad now employed all their energies.

He found a warm friend in Cardinal Alberoni,* and at his suggestion started early in the year 1719 for the capital of Spain, where he remained till the autumn, urging the King and his Ministers to afford him the help he needed. At the same time, with the assistance of Law, the great schemer, then on very confidential terms with the Regent Orleans, Lord Strafford endeavoured to obtain support from France; but it is evident that Atterbury entertained a distrust of the Duke of Orleans, and subsequent events proved its correctness. There was a conference on the subject between the Regent and Lord Strafford; and the French Minister Du Bois† was also made acquainted with the desires and intentions of James. These negotiations made the latter very sanguine when he returned to Italy about the end of August. He wrote to the Bishop, who had been

* The able Minister of Philip V., King of Spain, seemed desirous of revenging the Spanish failures against England. The pretensions of James III. were regarded as affording almost as good an excuse for attacking England as had those of Mary Stuart; and when Sir George Byng made havoc among their fleet at Syracuse, on the 31st of July, 1718, James and the Duke of Ormonde were sent for, and the Duke entrusted with the command of a squadron of ships, with a military force; but the elements were again opposed to the enterprise, and Philip soon afterwards dismissed the Cardinal, and entered into a treaty of peace with England.

† The Abbé, subsequently a Cardinal.

suffering from severe indisposition, on the 17th of the following October, expressing his wish to hear from him. This produced a renewal of the correspondence about seven months subsequently, when he forwarded with the following a lengthened despatch, referred to as a general letter, and another to Lord Mar.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

May 6, 1720.

Sir,

I have little to add to what is contained in the General Letter besides particular professions of duty and zeal for the service, which I hope are needless, and am sure will be made good by all the actions of my life as often as any proper occasion offers. My long illness and great distance, and the few opportunities I had of such a conveyance as I could depend on, have been the reasons of my silence. I must add also, that I did, upon grounds not altogether slight, entertain hopes that hands of greater consequence were, either of choice or through necessity, employed in such measures as would be of most effectual service to the cause, and while these measures were duly pursued, thought it my part to lie still and expect the event. But these hopes, since the great quarrel has been made up,* are in a good degree vanished; for whatever wishes and inclinations any person in power may still preserve, he will be—if he is not already—forced to act in such a manner as will certainly defeat them. Indeed, the reconciliation, whether of the principals or those who listed under them, is not as yet hearty and sincere; but I apprehend it will by degrees become so; at least the appearances and consequences of it here will be the same as if it really were. The union—how imperfect soever now—will naturally cement more and more, as accidents and occasions arise that may make it the mutual interest of the newly reconciled to act more closely together.

The Tories have now lost their balancing power in the House of Commons, and must either, by continuing wholly inactive,

* Between George I. and the Prince of Wales.

sink in their spirits and numbers, or by making attacks hazard a stricter conjunction between their enemies. On either hand their situation is nice and hazardous, and great prudence as well as resolution is requisite so to conduct them through these difficulties as neither to forfeit their reputation nor draw upon themselves the united resentment of the now powerful party, who, if ever they agree in good earnest, will be more irresistible than they were before the breach. 'Tis true there is but little time for such experiments before the Session will close, and the less there is, in my humble opinion, the better. Ere another is opened, new distastes may arise and new parties be formed, which may give the Tories matter to work out a foundation to stand upon. The last of these they now evidently want, and for want of it dare hardly, and scarce can prudently, make use of the other. I think myself obliged to represent the melancholy truth thus plainly, that there may be no expectation of anything from hence which will certainly not happen. Disaffection and uneasiness will continue everywhere, and probably increase; the bulk of the nation will be still in the true interest and on the side of justice; and the present settlement will, perhaps, be detested every day more than it is already, and yet no effectual step will or can be taken to shake it.

Care is taken from hence to make our condition well understood in France. Whether we shall be believed, or, if we are, whether the Regent will think it his interest at this juncture to assert your righteous cause, or will choose rather to temporize till he has brought all the great projects he has now on the anvil to bear, you, sir, are best able to judge, and time only will convincingly show. It is certain that unless help come speedily it may come too late; for that body of men who have newly increased their capital to above forty millions sterling begin to look formidable, and if time be given them to fix themselves, and to unite the Court and the majority of the Members of Parliament thoroughly in their interest, the weight of their influence, whatever they undertake, must bear down all opposition; and they cannot but be the Government of this kingdom. But it is hoped this great event is not at such a distance as to give this monstrous prospect time to settle. An attempt from abroad—if not too long delayed—will dash it all to pieces, and make it instrumental towards defeating those evils

which it now seems calculated to serve. At all events the direction and management of this great machine will, for some time, be in the hands of the Ministry, who best know what use they intend to make of it.

Upon the whole, we are here at present in a violent convulsion, from which great good or evil may arise, according as the juncture is laid out by France, and employed to one or other of these purposes. We are entirely in their power. They have great sums of money in our stocks, which they can draw out at once, and sink them if they please. If they insist on the surrendering of Gibraltar it must be surrendered; and that step will shake our credit, and show how easily we may be insulted if anybody has the courage to venture upon us. Could the Duke of Ormonde—if nothing is to be headed by him from Spain—be allowed shelter anywhere in France? Even that is allowed to disorder our finances, and throw us into a great deal of confusion. But I will not trouble you, sir, with more reflections of this kind, being persuaded that you are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which your present situation gives you, and want nothing but such an assistance as may render them effectual, which I pray God soon to afford you!

I cannot send my letter without my particular congratulations on the affair of your Majesty's partner, which you have pleased to communicate to all of us. 'Tis the most acceptable news that can reach the ear of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world that Heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your sufferings!

I beg leave to add that your letter of October 17, 1719, reached me not here till March 19, 1719-20, N.S. By what accident it was so long delayed I know not, but had I received it in time, even the great indisposition I was then under, and am not yet free from, would not have hindered me from acknowledging the honour of it, and returning my most humble thanks for it. 1376.

John Hay has endorsed this: "B. of R. to the King, May 6, 1720." *

* Stuart Papers.

It is remarkable that this document contains no attempt at disguise except the signature; and the endorsement differs, in the same manner, from those of preceding letters. In the accompanying communication to Lord Mar, which expresses similar sentiments, the same absence of reserve and precautions is evident. The general letter, which was a joint production, does not appear to have been preserved. The other despatch from the Bishop sent this year is in the handwriting of Kelly. It betrays the same opinion of the condition of affairs.

"The printed paper" was the production of Lord Lansdowne, and entitled "The King's most gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, of what rank or degree soever."

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

October 22 (O.S), 1720.

"*Mr. Stanhope*"* has long been confined to the country by his illness, and has no opportunity of advising with friends till he gets to town, which will be before the end of next week; in the meantime he highly approves the printed paper, and hopes some way or other it will be made public. As to what is proposed, he dares not of himself advise anything, but is afraid that the time is lost for any attempt that shall not be of force sufficient to encourage people to come into it. The losers in this game are under expectations of having their losses made up to them in the approaching Session, and will not plunge hastily into any new hazardous scheme at this juncture, nor perhaps till they begin to despair. Relief cannot possibly come till some time after the Parliament has met, and then the hopes of the disaffected will be kept for some time in suspense; and the while they have any such hopes they will not run any great

* In the original this name is underlined, and "Illington" written over it by O'Brien.

risks: and an unsuccessful attempt ruins the game for many years, and certainly ends in the union of the Father and Son, and of the whole Whig interest to support them. The S. S. project,* which friends have unwarily run into as, if it stood and flourished, it would certainly have produced a Commonwealth, so, now it has failed, has not wrought up the disaffection of the people to such a pitch, but that they have still some hopes left of retrieving their affairs; and while they have so, will not be ripe for any great venture. Nor can it be yet seen whether the Grand Affair can wisely be pushed till the time of new choosing a Parliament next year, unless the forces to be sent were in much greater quantities than is proposed, or could come hither sooner than 'tis apprehended they possibly can. But of this more after advising with others: at present this is the private sentiment only of a single person, who if he alters his opinion upon comparing it with that of others, will not fail to give you speedy notice of it.

Endorsed by John Hay: "B. of R—r to Mr. Dillon, Oct. 22, 1720."†

It was in contemplation at this time for the Duke of Ormonde, with a force of 2,000 men from Spain, assisted by General Dillon with two hundred officers, to attempt an enterprise in favour of James. This, not only was not a proposition of the Bishop's, but was plainly discouraged by him as an insufficient force. In the course of a few months, however, he seems to have changed his opinion—if the following can be accepted as genuine :—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES III.

Sir, April 22, 1721.

My long indisposition and the little hopes I saw of being in any particular degree serviceable, have for some time interrupted the course of my writing, though my thoughts and

* The South Sea. † Stuart Papers.

designs have been all ever pointed the same way, and shall be so pointed while I live. Sir, the time is now come when, with a very little assistance from your friends abroad, your way to your friends at home is become safe and easy. The present juncture is so favorable, and will probably continue for so many months to be so, that I cannot think it will pass over without a proper use being made of it. Your friends are in good earnest interesting themselves for that purpose, and under a full expectation that an opportunity may some time this summer be given them to show their zeal for your service. They will never despair, but must always think this the most promising juncture that ever yet offered itself.

The worthy *Mr. Hanmore* * will be able to explain things so fully to your friends on the other side, who can with the most despatch and secrecy convey the accounts of them to you, that I think it is unnecessary as it is unsafe to enter into particulars; and therefore end my letter as I shall end my life, with vows and prayers for your felicity.

This is endorsed, "B. of Rochester to the King,"† and dated. Such an invitation naturally was likely to expedite the arrangements the friends of the exiled Prince had been making in his behalf.

On January 3, 1722, James wrote to Atterbury, not only thanking him for his services, but holding out a prospect of "a rank superior to all the rest." Letters were also addressed by him to the Duke of Ormonde, Lords North, Arran, Lansdowne, and Strafford, acquainting them with his intention to attempt a demonstration. He only waited for their collecting the sinews of war—but waited in vain. Months of inaction were suffered to pass by, which the English leaders passed in disputing about trifles. They drew persons into their designs without the knowledge of Bishop Atterbury. On learning this

* Sir H. Goring. † Stuart Papers.

Lord Mar wrote to James,—"God have mercy on an undertaking of this kind with Dr. John Freind* on the head of it;" adding, "When the Bishop of Rochester comes to discover their dealings with Dr. John Freind, he will never forgive them; and it is scarce possible that he can get notice of it soon, which will put an end to the concert between them; so a new concert is absolutely necessary."

The cause in which Bishop Atterbury had embarked had elements of ruin in it, the development of which was merely a question of time; the chief of these were jealousy, incapacity, and insincerity. In truth, the "five," as they were designated, acted so unwisely that the project had to be abandoned; and Atterbury was appealed to, to join with Lord Oxford in the entire management of the King's affairs. The indefatigable Nonjuror was sent to England with communications for the Bishop, with whom he presently became domiciled, and for whom he again wrote by dictation.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

Distances and other accidents have *for some years* interrupted my correspondence with *Mr. Hacket*,† but I am willing to renew it, and to enter into it upon a better foot than it has ever yet stood, being convinced that my doing so may be of no small consequence to the service. I have already taken the first step towards it that is proper in our situation, and will pursue that by others as fast as I can have opportunity; hoping that the secret will be as inviolably kept on your side as it shall be on this, so far as the nature of such a transaction between two persons who must see one another sometimes can pass unobserved. This is what I propose, and it shall not be my fault, if it does not take

* The Physician. † Lord Oxford.

effect. I hope it will not be expected that I should write by post, having many reasons to think it not advisable for me to do so.*

The Bishop, in his reply to the next communication, betrays the dissatisfaction with which he regarded his position. The reader should, however, bear in mind that the wife Dr. Atterbury so tenderly loved—the inspiration of his youth, and the solace of his mature manhood—the mother of his children—was passing away from the life she had endeavoured to brighten, and that to him all around must naturally have looked gloomy. The scene in which he moved became distasteful, and he felt himself out of place. His friend's sympathy was as earnest as his admiration. Pope was one of the very few of his intellectual contemporaries capable of doing justice to his character as a statesman and a divine.

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

March 14, 1721-2.

I was disappointed (much more than those who commonly use that phrase on such occasions) in missing you at the deanery, where I lay solitary two nights. Indeed I truly partake in any degree of concern that affects you; and I wish everything may succeed as you desire in your own family, and in that which I think you no less account your own, and is no less your family, the whole world: for I take you to be one of the true friends of it, and to your power its protector. Though the noise and daily bustle for the public be now over,† I dare say a good man is still tendering its welfare; as the sun in the

* Stuart Papers. The person to whom this letter is addressed, was, as will be proved presently, in the receipt of a large pension from the English Government, for the purpose of betraying the correspondents of "the Pretender," with the object of ruining such as were most active in political opposition to the minister.

† By a recent dissolution of Parliament.

winter, when seeming to retire from the world, is preparing benedictions and warmth for a better season. No man wishes your lordship more quiet, more tranquillity, than I, who know you should understand the value of it; but I do not wish you a jot less concerned or less active than you are in all sincere, and therefore warm, desires of public good.

I beg the kindness (and it is for that chiefly I trouble you with this letter) to favour me with notice as soon as you return to London, that I may come and make you a proper visit of a day or two; for hitherto I have not been your visitor but your lodger, and I accuse myself of it. I have now no earthly thing to oblige my being in town (a point of no small satisfaction to me) but the best reason, the seeing a friend. As long, my lord, as you will let me call you so (and I dare say you will till I forfeit, what I think I never shall, my veracity and integrity) I shall esteem myself fortunate, in spite of the South Sea, poetry, Popery, and poverty.

I cannot tell you how sorry I am you should be troubled anew by any sort of people. I heartily wish—*Quod superest ut tibi vivas*—that you may teach me how to do the same, who, without any real impediment to acting and living rightly, do act and live as foolishly as if I were a great man. I am, &c.*

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, March 16, 1721-2.

Dear Sir,

As a visitant, a lodger, a friend (or under what other denomination soever), you are always welcome to me, and will be more so, I hope, every day that we live: for to tell you the truth I like you, as I like myself, best, when we have both of us least business. It has been my fate to be engaged in it much and often by the stations in which I was placed: but God, that knows my heart, knows I never loved it, and am still less in love with it than ever, as I find less temptation to act with any hope of success. If I am good for anything, it is in *angulo cum libello;* and yet a good part of my time has been spent, and perhaps must still be spent, far otherwise. For I will never, while I have health, be wanting to my duty in any post or in any respect, how

* Atterbury Papers.

little soever I may like my employment, and how hopeless soever I may be in the discharge of it.

In the meantime, the judicious world is pleased to think that I delight in work which I am obliged to undergo, and aim at things which I from my heart despise. Let them think as they will, so I might be at liberty to act as I will, and spend my time in such a manner as is most agreeable to me. I cannot say I do so now, for I am here without any books; and, if I had them, could not use them to my satisfaction while my mind is taken up in a more melancholy manner:* and how long, or how little a while, it may be so taken up God only knows; and to his will I implicitly resign myself in everything. I am, &c.†

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

March 19, 1721-2.

My Lord,

I am extremely sensible of the repeated favour of your kind letters, and your thoughts of me in absence, even among thoughts of much nearer concern to yourself on the one hand, and of much more importance to the world on the other, which cannot but engage you at this juncture. I am very certain of your good will, and of the warmth which is in you inseparable from it.

Your remembrance of Twitenham is a fresh instance of partiality. I hope the advance of the fine season will set you upon your legs, enough to enable you to get into my garden, where I will carry you up a mount to show you, in a point of view, the glory of my little kingdom. If you approve it, I shall be in danger to boast like Nebuchadnezzar of the things I have made, and to be turned to converse, not with the beasts of the field, but with the birds of the grove, which I shall take to be no great punishment. For indeed I heartily despise the ways of the world, and most of the great ones of it—

Oh, keep me innocent, make others great!

And you may judge how comfortably I am strengthened in this opinion when such as your lordship bear testimony to its vanity and emptiness. *Tinnit, inane est*, with the picture of one ring-

* By Mrs. Atterbury's fatal illness.

† Atterbury Papers.

ing on the globe with his finger, is the best thing I have the luck to remember in that great poet Quarles—not that I forget the devil at bowls, which I know to be your lordship's favourite cut, as well as favourite diversion.

The situation here is pleasant, and the view rural enough to humour the most retired and agree with the most contemplative. Good air, solitary groves, and sparing diet, sufficient to make you fancy yourself (what you are in temperance, though elevated into a greater figure by your station) one of the fathers of the desert. Here you may think (to use an author's words, whom you so justly prefer to all his followers, that you will receive them kindly, though taken from his worst work) :—

> That in Elijah's banquet you partake,
> Or sit a guest with Daniel at his pulse.

I am sincerely free with you, as you desire I should, and approve of your not having your coach here; for if you would see Lord —— or anybody else, I have another chariot besides that little one you laughed at when you compared me to Homer in a nut-shell. But if you would be entirely private, nobody shall know anything of the matter. Believe me, my lord, no man is with more perfect acquiescence, nay, with more willing acquiescence (not even any of your own sons of the Church), your obedient, &c.*

Bishop Atterbury to Alexander Pope.

Bromley, April 6, 1722.

Dear Sir,

Under all the leisure in the world, I have no leisure, no stomach to write to you; the gradual approaches of death† are before my eyes. I am convinced that it must be so; and yet make a shift to flatter myself sometimes with the thought that it may possibly be otherwise; and that very thought, though it is directly contrary to my reason, does for a few moments make me easy; however, not easy enough in good earnest to think of anything but the melancholy object that employs them. Therefore wonder not that I do not answer your kind letter. I shall answer it too soon, I fear, by accepting

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* Atterbury Papers.

† That of his wife.

your friendly invitation. When I do so, no conveniences will be wanting; for I will see nobody but you and your mother, and the servants. Visits to statesmen always were to me (and are now more than ever) insipid things. Let the men that expect, that wish to thrive by them, pay them that homage: I am free. When I want them, they shall hear of me at their doors; and when they want me, I shall be sure to hear of them at mine. But probably they will despise me so much, and I shall court them so little, that we shall both of us keep our distance.

When I come to you, it is in order to be with you only; a President of the Council, or a Star and Garter, will make no more impression upon my mind at such a time than the hearing of a bagpipe, or the sight of a puppet-show. I have said to greatness some time ago, *Tuas tibi res habeto, egomet curabo meas.* The time is not far off when we shall all be upon the level; and I am resolved for my part to anticipate that time, and be upon the level with them now; for he is so that neither seeks nor wants them. Let them have more virtue and less pride, and then I will court them as much as any body; but till they resolve to distinguish themselves some way else than by their outward trappings, I am determined (and I think I have a right) to be as proud as they are; though, I trust in God, my pride is neither of so odious a nature as theirs, nor of so mischievous a consequence.

I know not how I have fallen into this train of thinking: when I sat down to write, I intended only to excuse myself for not writing, and to tell you that the time drew nearer and nearer when I must dislodge. I am preparing for it; for I am at this moment building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine. It was to be in the Abbey, because of my relation to the place; but it is at the west door of it, as far from Kings and Cæsars as the space will admit of.

I know not but I may step to town to-morrow to see how the work goes forward; but if I do, I shall return hither in the evening. I would not have given you the trouble of this letter, but that they tell me it will cost you nothing; our privilege of franking being again allowed us.*

French men-of-war having been permitted by the

* Atterbury Papers.

Government to be built in our dockyards, to engage the Regent Orleans against the plans of the exiled family, lively debates on the subject took place in the House of Lords. The judges (except Baron Montagu), whose salaries had been lately increased, gave an opinion that such a practice was legal, when Lord Cowper moved a resolution to render it illegal. There was also much discussion upon the Quakers' Bill, which was rejected by 60 to 24. On the 10th of March, Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, apparently with general satisfaction, the nation being tired of its notorious subserviency, which was sufficiently dwelt upon in a pamphlet entitled, "The Last Will and Testament of an Old Deceased Parliament." Another publication, that made its appearance about the same time, exasperated the Government into offering a reward of £500 for the apprehension of the author. It was called, "The Second Part of the Advantages accruing by the Hanover Succession."

The Bishop, in accordance with his promise, wrote the following:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO LORD OXFORD.

April 14, 1722.

If you have not heard sooner or oftener from me, it hath not, I can assure you, been my fault; neither do I attribute it to yours—the long silence you have kept on your side; but to a chain of disappointments and difficulties which hath been also the only reason of my not finding all this while a method of conveying my thoughts to you, and receiving your advice, which I shall ever value as I ought, because I look upon you not only as an able lawyer, but a sincere friend. This will, I hope, come soon to your hands; and the worthy friend by whose canal I send it, will accompany it by my directions, with all the lights and informations he or I can give, and which it is therefore useless

to repeat here. I shall expect with impatience your return to that message; and as by it you will be convinced of the great and entire confidence I have in you, I hope you will be as much persuaded that there is nobody wishes you honor, happiness, and health more than I do, nor hath for you a more real esteem and friendship.

Atterbury, it is averred, sent communications to his correspondents abroad; but *the originals are not to be found.* The following month Lord Mar* wrote to him, sending his letter through *the post office,* which he had been expressly cautioned against, and in so doing left himself open to a charge of treachery—which, however, he must share equally with the Regent Orleans, and his minister Du Bois.

Among the many acts of kindness Bishop Atterbury exhibited towards men of letters, must not be forgotten his behaviour to Dr. Fiddes, when engaged upon his "Life of Cardinal Wolsey." Independently of the Bishop's interest in a work that promised to do justice to so distinguished a Churchman, as the founder of the noble college in which Atterbury had studied, and over which he had presided, the subject must have had unusual attractions. He therefore placed his house and library at the service of Dr. Fiddes. This liberality the latter thus acknowledges:—

I should under such a direction not only have had the benefit of many curious and deep researches into ecclesiastical antiquity, but of the best and most useful instruction, both in respect to the matter and the conduct of my work. I shall not incur any censure for paying a debt of gratitude to a learned prelate under

* It will presently be shown how this hired traitor and spy effected the object of his employer.

his present circumstances, or for celebrating those great talents wherein, as a person of capacity and letters, his most inveterate enemies must allow him to excel. It is ignoble and unjust, because men are charged with high crimes, either to refuse them those grateful acknowledgments which are due to their beneficial actions, or to deny their extraordinary and distinguished abilities on other accounts.*

There is reason for believing that the Bishop had become impressed with the idea that, however much the country suffered from the rule of the foreigner, there was no prospect of its benefiting by any attempt that might at present be made for getting rid of it. His prudence was not approved of in the little Court at Rome, where the favour with which he was regarded by James had already excited jealousy. This feeling was presently taken advantage of, and the Pretender's minister, who saw himself likely to be superseded, was soon quite ready to help the minister of George I. in effecting his destruction.

During the early portion of the year 1722, the Bishop's mind was much occupied, partly by the severe indisposition of Mrs. Atterbury, partly by a learned correspondence with Dr. Potter, Bishop of Bristol, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, and an excellent Biblical scholar, Dr. Wall. On the 1st of April Walpole returned to power, as First Lord of

* This candid avowal could not be permitted to pass. After attacking Dr. Fiddes for favouring Popery, Dr. Knight ventured to assert that his Life of the Cardinal was written at the suggestion of Atterbury, when engaged in his controversy with Archbishop Wake; and "that Bishop Atterbury supplied our author with his own collections; directed him to the stock of others; procured him the whole party of subscribers; entertained him at his house in Westminster; suggested matter and method; turned him to authorities and conjectures, and laid the whole plan for forming such a life as might blacken the Reformation, cast lighter colours upon Popery, and even make a way for a Popish Pretender."—*Life of Erasmus.*

the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bishop was still leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and the premier had not only a thorough knowledge of his opponent's influence with his party, but of all that he had done in the cause of the Pretender. In the following month the deanery received a visit from the new Prime Minister, who asked for a private interview. It was granted. He had but one method of dealing with those whose support he required; he opened himself to the Bishop, offering a pension of £5,000 till the rich bishopric of Winchester should fall vacant, and the valuable post of Tellership of the Exchequer for a near relation, if he would cease opposing the Government measures. Walpole suggested how easily he might plead the gout as an excuse for keeping away from the House.

"Alas!" exclaimed the prelate, "there is no room for excuses on that score; I am already too frequently incapacitated by that disorder." Nor would the Bishop throw over his party, though the bribe, as the briber well knew—the See, having so lately been possessed by his true and liberal friend Sir Jonathan Trelawney—was the peculiar object of his ambition. At last the baffled minister took his leave, passing on the stairs the person he had named for the Tellership of the Exchequer, to whom the Bishop immediately communicated the negotiation.*

The Duke of Marlborough, the idol of Whig poets and politicians, who had long been maintained on an uneasy pedestal, paid the common debt of mortality

* Atterbury Papers.

in the summer of 1722. His reputation, exaggerated by versifiers wanting both a hero and a paymaster, had collapsed into the fame of a fortunate commander, when death gave a final opportunity for his exaltation. No one more strongly insisted on his superiority than his widow; and if the world did not look upon his dissolution as an irreparable loss, it was no fault of hers. She determined that his obsequies should testify his pre-eminence, and kept society in an intense state of curious excitement with the grandeur of her preparations. Among the least concerned lookers-on were Atterbury and Pope; the first had to play a prominent part in the ceremony, and the latter desired merely to be a spectator of the pageant. The Bishop thought more about the sublimity of Milton than the glories of Marlborough.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, June 15, 1722.

Dear Sir,

You have generally written first after our parting. I will now be beforehand with you in my inquiries, how you got home, and how you do; and whether you met with Lord ——, and delivered my civil reproach to him in the manner I desired? I suppose you did not, because I have heard nothing either from you or from him on that head, as I suppose I might have done if you had found him.

I am sick of these men of quality, and the more so the oftener I have any business to transact with them. They look upon it as one of their distinguishing privileges not to be punctual in any business, of how great importance soever; nor to set other people at ease with the loss of the least part of their own. This conduct of his vexes me; but to what purpose? or how can I alter it?

I long to see the original MS. of Milton, but do not know how to come at it without your repeated assistance.

I hope you will not utterly forget what passed in the coach about "Sampson Agonistes." I shall not press you as to time; but some time or other I wish you would review and polish that piece. If, upon a new perusal of it (which I desire you to make), you think as I do, that it is written in the very spirit of the ancients, it deserves your care, and is capable of being improved with little trouble into a perfect model and standard of tragic poetry, always allowing for its being a story taken out of the Bible; which is an objection that, at this time of day, I know is not to be gotten over.—I am, &c.*

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

July 27, 1722.

My dear Lord,

I have been as constantly at Twitenham as your lordship has at Bromley, ever since you saw Lord Bathurst. At the time of the Duke of Marlborough's funeral I intend to lie at the deanery, and moralize one evening with you on the vanity of human glory.

The Duchess of Buckingham's letter concerns me nearly, and you know it, who know all my thoughts without disguise. I must keep clear of flattery. I will; and, as this is an honest resolution, I dare hope your lordship will not be so unconcerned for my keeping it, as not to assist me in so doing. I beg, therefore, you would represent thus much at least to her Grace, that as to the fear she seems touched with, "that the Duke's memory should have no advantage but what he must give himself, without being beholden to any one friend," your lordship may certainly, and agreeably to your character both of rigid honour and Christian plainness, tell her that no man can have any other advantage, and that all offerings of friends in such a case pass for nothing. Be but so good as to confirm what I have represented to her, that an inscription in the ancient way, plain, pompous, and yet modest, will be the most uncommon, and therefore the most distinguishing manner of doing it. And so I hope she will be satisfied, the Duke's honour be preserved, and my integrity also, which is too sacred a thing to be forfeited in consideration of any little (or what people of quality may call

* Atterbury Papers.

great) honour or distinction whatever, which those of their rank can bestow on one of mine; and which indeed they are apt to over-rate, but never so much as when they imagine us under any obligation to say one untrue word in their favour.

I can only thank you, my lord, for the kind transition you make from common business to that which is the only real business of every reasonable creature. Indeed I think more of it than you imagine, though not so much as I ought. I am pleased with those Latin verses extremely, which are so very good that I thought them yours, until you called them an Horatian Cento; and then I recollected the "disjecti membra poëtæ." I will not pretend I am so totally in those sentiments, which you compliment me with, as I yet hope to be. You tell me I have them, as the civilest method to put me in mind how much it fits me to have them. I ought first to prepare my mind by a better knowledge even of good profane writers, especially the moralists, &c., before I can be worthy of tasting that supreme of Books and sublime of all writings; in which, as in all the intermediate ones, you may (if your friendship and charity toward me continue so far) be the best guide* to your, &c.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

Bromley, July 30, 1722.

Dear Sir,

I have written to the Duchess [of Buckingham] just as you desired, and referred her to our meeting in town for a further account of it. I have done it the rather because your opinion in the case is sincerely mine: if it had not been so, you yourself should not have induced me to give it. Whether and how far she will acquiesce in it I cannot say; especially in a case where she thinks the Duke's honour concerned; but should she seem to persist a little at present, her good sense (which I depend upon) will afterwards satisfy her that we are in the right.

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* In the first blank leaf of this bible, Mr. Pope subsequently made the following record:—

Franciscus, Episcopus Roffensis,
Vir admodum venerandus et amicissimus,
Alexandro Pope dono dedit,
Jun. 17, 1723, Anno Exilii I.
Cape dona extrema tuorum!

I go to-morrow to the deanery, and I believe I shall stay there till I have said "Dust to dust," and shut up that last scene * of pompous vanity. It is a great while for me to stay there at this time of the year; and I know I shall often say to myself while I am expecting the funeral—

O Rus, quanto ego te aspicium ! quandoque licebit
Ducere sollicitæ jucanda oblivia vitæ.

In that case, I shall fancy I hear the ghost of the dead thus entreating me—

At tu sacratæ ne parce malignus arenæ
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare—
Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa ; licebit
Injecto ter pulvere, curras.

There is an answer for me somewhere in "Hamlet" to this request, which you remember though I do not—"Poor ghost, thou shalt be satisfied," or something like it. However that be, take care you do not fail in your appointment, that the company of the living may make me some amends for my attendance on the dead.

I know you will be glad to hear that I am well: I should always could I always be here—

—— Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina : vive, valeque.

You are the first man I sent to this morning, and the last man I desire to converse with this evening, though at twenty miles distance from you—

Te veniente die. Te decedente requiro. †

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* This was the funeral of John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, at which the Bishop officiated, as Dean of Westminster, on Thursday, August 9, 1722.

† Atterbury Papers.

CHAPTER XIII.

BISHOP ATTERBURY IN THE TOWER.

Sources of Treachery open to Walpole—Correspondence Intercepted—Bishop Atterbury, Lord Boyle, and others committed to the Tower—Letters of Pope and Atterbury—A Treasonable Communication from the Bishop read to the House of Commons—Dr. Yalden's Thorough-paced Doctrine—"The Bill of Pains and Penalties"—Public Sympathy with the Bishop—The Subservient Parliament—The Prisoner Assaulted and Deprived of his Property—Severity of his Imprisonment—Sympathy of Pope and Swift—The Bishop's Letter to the Speaker—Vindictive Articles of his Impeachment—The Intercepted Correspondence—The Dog Harlequin—The Defence—Pope a Witness in his Favour—Bishops Gastrell and Hoadly—Noble Conduct of Pope—His Correspondence with Atterbury in Prison—Apocryphal Anecdote—"The Black Bird"—The Westminster Scholars visit Atterbury in the Tower—His Departure—The Duke of Wharton's Poem "On the Banishment of Cicero."

THERE existed several sources through which Walpole was aware that he might procure the evidence he wanted. There was Lord Mar, who having first written to ingratiate himself with the Elector of Hanover, had subsequently raised a rebellion in Scotland; he was known to be deep in the secrets of the Pretender, nevertheless would be glad to earn his pardon by any act of special service to the Government of George I. There was Lord Bolingbroke,

whose vanity had been hurt by his summary dismissal from the service of James, was tired of exile and inactivity, and far from indisposed to inform against a former friend known to be associated with his detested rival Lord Oxford; and there was the Regent of France, who was quite ready to assist in defeating the designs of the claimant to the English crown, if he thought he could secure by it a sufficient advantage for himself.

It is suspected that all these probable sources of treachery were experimented upon with a satisfactory result. With such assistance the unscrupulous minister was able to secure a packet of letters apparently from the Bishop, and obtain the cypher to enable them to be thoroughly understood. It is, however, singular that, having had them copied, he permitted the originals to proceed to their destination; and that though they are said to have arrived safe, no trace of them can be found.* The notorious venality of some of the principal Jacobite agents suggests that there would be no difficulty in procuring proofs of Atterbury's correspondence with the Pretender, if such were wanted. A deep-laid scheme of treachery might therefore easily be arranged for securing evidence sufficient to convict the obnoxious prelate.

It was in the month of May that King George received the first intimation that a formidable conspiracy had been formed against him. At once the greatest activity prevailed in every department of the Government—there was a camp established in Hyde

* They are not among the Stuart Papers.

Park; communications were forwarded to all parts of the kingdom, and a message sent to the States of Holland, asking for troops. Except such preparations to resist attack, nothing was done against the Jacobites till the 30th of July, when a Captain Kelly was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Another arrest was made, but the accused very cleverly escaped from his captors, and £1,000 was offered for his apprehension. A similar sum was offered for the apprehension of that distinguished nonjuring clergyman, Mr. Carte.*

Dr. Atterbury had been much occupied with the funerals of the Dukes of Marlborough and Buckingham, as well as with a correspondence with Walpole, respecting the payment of his workmen engaged in completing the repairs of the Abbey. He did not anticipate danger: nevertheless, on the 24th of August, he was brought before a committee of the Privy Council, and there accused of being engaged in a plot to overthrow the existing Government and bring in the Pretender.

He went through a preliminary examination, which ended in his being committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. The excitement in the public mind, particularly among the Bishop's numerous friends, became very great. It presently got known that his confinement was unusually strict: the excitement increased when a student of the Temple, Christopher Layer, was sent a prisoner to the same fortress, for enlisting men in the service of the Pre-

* The historian.

tender; and Lords North and Grey, and the Duke of Norfolk, were also seized and committed to the Tower.

Dr. Atterbury's pupil, at the death of his elder brother, the fourth Earl of Orrery, of the Irish peerage, succeeded to the title; a little later he received the command of a regiment, with subsequently the rank of Major-General. He was then employed as a diplomatist, and negotiated with the States of Flanders and Brabant, during the arrangement of the treaty of Utrecht, with such spirit that the Government elevated him to the English peerage as Baron Boyle, of Marston, in Somersetshire. Lord Orrery and Bishop Atterbury came again into cordial intimacy—indeed, became closely connected in political affairs.

His manifest understanding with the political party of which the Bishop was recognized as the head, excited first the suspicion and then the hostility of the Whig Government. On the accession of George I., his lordship had been appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber, as well as Lord-Lieutenant of Somersetshire; but his votes and his speeches in the House of Peers, like those of his old tutor at Oxford, were regarded by Walpole as declarations of hostility, and a report of his disgrace was speedily in circulation. This, so far from intimidating Lord Orrery, induced him to write a letter to the King offering to resign his employments, if not permitted to act and speak conscientiously. The minister then deprived him of his regiment. Immediately after being superseded, he resigned his post in the royal household.

There is little doubt that, having disconnected himself with the Court, Lord Orrery drew closer to Opposition. The Walpole spies and the Walpole scribblers were actively employed to ascertain what the Tories were about, and to increase the public odium against them as supposed plotters of treasonable designs. The scheme known as Layer's Plot excited so much rancour as well as alarm among the Lords of the Privy Council, that on the 22nd of September, 1722, they issued a warrant committing his lordship to the Tower, on suspicion of being concerned in it. This severity had so unfavourable an effect on Lord Orrery's delicate constitution that Dr. Mead remonstrated with the Privy Council, assuring them that the prisoner's life was in imminent danger. After an incarceration of six months his lordship was liberated on bail.

It has been alleged that the earliest intimation of a conspiracy to dethrone George I. came from the Duke of Orleans, who had been made acquainted with it by the friends of James in Paris; nevertheless, it was the letter sent by Lord Mar through the post that ostensibly first gave a clue to the channel of communication. The messenger was stopped and the treasonable correspondence found upon him. There was the greatest art employed by the Whig Government to conceal the assistance they had obtained.

The imprisonment of a Protestant bishop produced little excitement in the public mind, because the greatest possible pains were taken to represent him as a Papist in disguise, whose object was to destroy the

Protestant religion. The manner in which religious prejudices were excited may be understood by the way three highly obnoxious personages in popular estimation were joined together. "The Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender," were insisted on as firm allies, and the prisoner in the Tower denounced as their zealous friend and supporter. But such arts could have no effect on those who knew him; and no one knew him better than Alexander Pope. His affection found its way through the thick walls of the fortress, and much cheered the captive. The following interchange of communications is highly honorable to both:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ALEXANDER POPE.

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for all the instances of your friendship, both before and since my misfortunes. A little time will complete them, and separate you and me for ever. But, in what part of the world soever I am, I will live mindful of your sincere kindness to me; and will please myself with the thought that I still live in your esteem and affection as much as ever I did: and that no accidents of life—no distance of time or place—will alter you in that respect. It never can me, who have loved and valued you ever since I knew you; and shall not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell you so, as the case will soon be.

Give my faithful services to Dr. Arbuthnot, and thanks for what he sent me; which was much to the purpose, if anything can be said to be to the purpose in a case that is already determined. Let him know my defence will be such that neither my friends need blush for me, nor will my enemies have great occasion of triumph, though sure of the victory. I shall want his advice before I go abroad in many things. But I question whether I shall be permitted to see him, or anybody but such as are absolutely necessary towards the despatch of my private affairs. If so, God bless you both! and may no part of the ill fortune that attends me ever pursue either of you! I know not

but I may call upon you at my hearing to say somewhat about my way of employing my time at the deanery, which did not seem calculated towards managing plots and conspiracies. But of that I shall consider. You and I have spent many hours together upon much pleasanter subjects; and, that I may preserve the old custom, I shall not part with you now till I have closed this letter with three lines of Milton; which you will I know readily, and not without some degree of concern, apply to your ever, &c.—

> Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon:
> The world was all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest, and *Providence his Guide.**

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

April 20, 1723.

My Dear Lord,

It is not possible to express what I think, and what I feel; only this, that I have thought and felt for nothing but you for some time past, and shall think of nothing so long for the time to come. The greatest comfort I had was an intention (which I would have made practicable) to have attended you in your journey; to which I had brought that person† to consent who only could have hindered me by a tie which, though it may be more tender, I do not think more strong than that of friendship. But I fear there will be no way left me to tell you this great truth, that I remember you—that I love you—that I am grateful to you—that I entirely esteem and value you; no way but that one which needs no open warrant to authorize it, or secret conveyance to secure it—which no bills can preclude, and no kings prevent; a way that can reach to any part of the world where you may be, where the very whisper or even the wish of a friend must not be heard, or even suspected: by this way, I dare tell my esteen and affection for you to your enemies in the gates; and you, and they, and their sons, may hear of it.

You prove yourself, my lord, to know me for the friend I am, in judging that the manner of your defence, and your reputation by it, is a point of the highest concern to me; and assuring me it will be such that none of your friends need blush for you. Let me further prompt you to do yourself the best and most lasting

* Atterbury Papers. † His mother.

justice. The instruments of your fame to posterity will be in your own hands. May it not be that Providence has appointed you to some great and useful work, and calls you to it this severe way? You may more eminently and more effectually serve the public even now, than in the stations you have so honourably filled. Think of Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon. Is it not the latter, the disgraced part of their lives, which you most envy, and which you would choose to have lived?

I am tenderly sensible of the wish you express that no part of your misfortune may pursue me. But God knows I am every day less and less fond of my native country (so torn as it is by party rage), and begin to consider a friend in exile as a friend in death; one gone before, where I am not unwilling nor unprepared to follow after; and where (however various or uncertain the roads and voyages of another world may be) I cannot but entertain a pleasing hope that we may meet again.

I faithfully assure you that in the mean time there is no one, living or dead, of whom I shall think oftener or better than of you. I shall look upon you as in a state between both; in which you will have from me all the passions and warm wishes that can attend the living, and all the respect and tender sense of loss that we feel for the dead. And I shall ever depend upon your constant friendship, kind memory, and good offices; though I were never to see or hear the effects of them: like the trust we have in benevolent spirits who, though we never see or hear them, we think, are continually serving us and praying for us.

Whenever I am wishing to write to you, I shall conclude you are intentionally doing so to me; and every time that I think of you, I will believe you are thinking of me. I never shall suffer to be forgotten (nay, to be but faintly remembered) the honour, the pleasure, the pride, I must ever have in reflecting how frequently you have delighted me, how kindly you have distinguished me, how cordially you have advised me! In conversation, in study, I shall always want you and wish for you. In my most lively and in my most thoughtful hours, I shall equally bear about me the impressions of you; and perhaps it will not be in this life only that I shall have cause to remember and acknowledge the friendship of the Bishop of Rochester. I am, &c.

P.S.—Be assured that I wish for an occasion of publicly bearing testimony to the truth in your behalf, and shall be glad to be called upon; and so would the other friend * you mention. Would to God we could *act* for you; but, if not that, at least let us *appear* for you.†

On the 8th of March, 1722–3, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House of Commons that since the Report from the Committee, appointed to examine Christopher Layer and others respecting the conspiracy, a letter from the Bishop of Rochester, in his handwriting, had been seized upon the servant who attended him, and that his Majesty had commanded him to lay it before the House. It was read:—

Monday Night.

I have the gout in my right hand, and it is grown more troublesome than it was. Should it continue to do so, I shall in a day or two be incapable of writing, and must, therefore, be contented with receiving what you shall send without returning any answer, unless by the hand of a servant.

I take K.'s‡ account to be the truest—that they are resolved to *push me*—but I cannot yet believe that it will be by Bill, but by an impeachment—the consequence of which will be a Bill empowering the Chapter, &c., as I have said, while that impeachment depends. In that case, the *particular* advice of friends what steps I am to take, and how I am in every case to behave, would be very welcome. J. T. surely should be spoken to, to inform himself as well as he can in every respect, and to send me by Y. the best advice he can himself propose or collect from others. If I judge right of what K. says, there are those who would be glad the arrow should be drawn to the very head, not caring though they venture my ruin in hopes of ruining others. If there be any caution and wariness used in the case, it will, I apprehend, be on the side of the Ministry, for fear of their

* Dr. Arbuthnot—of him some account presently. † Atterbury Papers.

‡ Kelly. He was also sent to prison.

losing their point by overstraining the matter. I shall expect a further account of your conference at two o'clock to-day with K.

Since the attack is certain, is any method taken to bring up the absent Lords, particularly *the Bishops?* Abingdon, I think, has been away all the Session; Anglesey can bring him up with him if he pleases. But it is to no purpose for me to enter into particulars; this is the part of those who are concerned for me and the cause, and their management in the case will show to what degree their *concern* rises, and to them, therefore, I leave it.

If the narrative relates chiefly to Neynoe's, Sample's, and Layer's affairs,* so far it cannot affect me—for *I never heard of the names of either of the three till after this plot broke out.*

If I cannot ward the blow, *i. e.* if the impeachment cannot be stopped, I am a prisoner for some years without remedy. In order to stop it in the House of Commons, methinks it will be of moment to observe, that it is the first impeachment that ever was avowedly brought upon *conjectural evidence.* In other cases the facts and circumstances upon which the impeachment was brought, being not previously declared, it could not be known whether the impeachers had not sufficient grounds to go upon. But here they *ante manum* produce their evidence, and *all* their evidence; and if that shall appear not sufficient to found an impeachment, methinks the very lodging it may be stemmed.

If any of the Committee or the Ministry will aver that there is any *oath* made against me of treasonable practices by any living witness, or that they have any such witness who has undertaken to prove any crime against me, when it shall be thought fit to proceed upon the impeachment, such assertions may induce the House to impeach. But, in such case, let the Ministry or members of the Committee be obliged to deliver in the name of such person, in a note to be sealed and left with the Speaker, and opened when the discovery of such evidence will be attended with no inconvenience, and let him then undertake to justify the truth of his assertion. Otherwise to impeach a man, when there is *confessedly* no living evidence whatsoever against him, will be barbarous; especially after waiting six

* Jacobite agents, implicated in the recent attempt at an insurrection; the second was in the pay of the Walpoles. In the State Trials he is described as being under the direction of the Sempills. He was suffered to escape from prison.

months to get some such evidence, and confining a prisoner all that while after the closest and most rigorous manner, to the evident hazard of his health and life. Such punishment, and the further confinement, which the late law allows, is sufficient for *bare suspicion* of treason.

And if in eight months more any evidence can, after all, be produced, the prisoner will be forthcoming then to answer his accusation; but to impeach him in hopes of finding evidence afterwards, and acknowledging there is none at present, is unreasonable in itself, altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. And such a precedent, once set, may be attended with terrible consequences, which others may feel in their turn. For whose liberty is safe, if the H. of C. may accuse any one, even when they *own* they have no *legal proof* against him? They are the Grand Inquest of the nation, and should find their Bill as Grand Juries do, upon some positive evidence—they cannot, they ought not to proceed solely upon conjectures and probabilities. This is the advantage I would make of their previous declaration in the narrative; and it is, in my opinion, a very great advantage towards quashing any attempt that may be made towards an impeachment. I have not time to explain myself further on this head: but should not be unwilling that what I have said should be shown to some knowing friend in the H. of C., upon whose strict secrecy, as well as good judgment, I may depend—particularly Mr. Bromley.

If there be no impeachment, I shall certainly be at more liberty here when the Parliament is up; and being so, can put all capitular affairs into an easy method of being legally transacted, even when I myself am not present among them. Should there be an impeachment, a capacitating Bill will, as I have said, probably follow; but even then I can show that it is unnecessary, and nothing but necessity (and the unreasonableness of punishing twelve other men for my faults) can ever justify it. Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster,* was confined to his diocese for two or three years, and yet a method was found to renew leases and do business at Westminster, necessary for the support of the body during his absence. And when he was

* Archbishop of York, and confidential minister to Charles I. He died in 1650.

afterwards imprisoned in the Tower for two or three years more, and a Commission under the Great Seal issued, empowering the Sub-Dean and Chapter to proceed without him, this was looked upon as an unjustifiable strain upon the prerogative, and one of the great blemishes of that reign. And when Bishop Williams came out of prison he reversed all they had done without his consent, in prejudice to his rights as Dean; and particularly voided ten patents of ten offices they had granted, the nomination of which was vested in him by charter and consequent usage.

In truth the Dean, by charter and usage, has separate rights from the Chapter; these are personal, and can be exercised by him, wherever he is, or by the Sub-Dean, whom he always and solely appoints. And for the exercise of these rights, therefore, no Bill can be necessary. The Bishop of Bristol* at this time disposes of offices in his gift, chambers, &c., even when he is attending the Parliament for six or seven months, and his Sub-Dean governs the College† in his stead; and by a proxy lodged with him, is enabled, in the Dean's name, to transact all capitular business whatever, together with the canons. But my hand is weary, and I am come to the end of my paper.

What I have written on four sides, may, I think, upon a review of it, be showed by you, in confidence, to Mr. Bromley; though there are other things mixed with what I would have him see. You must not tell him what K., Y., &c., means, and then there is no harm. You should write a short note to him as soon as you receive this, and desire to know when you may wait upon him alone, and then show him the paper, part of which you thought of transcribing; but it was too long, and you chose rather to leave the original with him for his perusal. If he seems inclinable to return any answer, tell him you will transcribe it, and give him his paper back immediately; but I fear he will scarcely venture to make any but a verbal return. If so, do not take that verbal answer from him immediately, but desire him to appoint another time when you may wait on him and receive it, after he has, if he thinks fit, advised with friends. The intermixture of other business will make him see that the paper was not intended for him, and will be an excuse for the haste

* His friend, Dr. Smalridge. † Christ Church, Oxford.

with which it was written; and the confidence you in that case place in him will probably produce a mutual return.

There is one more must know of the secret of the conveyance, and that is the person employed in making it, and procuring its being made, if it was not Sam himself—soft Sam—and know from him certainly who is privy to it, and enjoin him the utmost secrecy. Frank, I hope, knows nothing of it. I expect the event of the dialogue with William and the other accounts from I. to-morrow. You may, when you see Bromley, impart the story of that villany to him, and desire his advice upon it, at what time and in what manner it may be proper for me to bring that matter upon the stage, and show what extraordinary methods are made to get at me, and beg the Lords' protection in the case against such vile practices. I hope William has not given into it, and then my way will some time or other be clearer towards a complaint. Whenever it is proper, I think the rascal, my neighbour, may be summoned before the Lords, and made to tell who employed him to proffer such sums, and be punished by them for such practices.

If the butter you send me on Wednesday be *exceedingly good*, it will be as good a reason for my having it from Westminster as my having water from thence daily.

If there be any proceedings against me, early care must be taken of money. I will not press you on that head; but the bond of £500 which the Chapter owes me in your name, being upon so good security, may easily be turned into money by Z., perhaps Z. destroying the declaration of trust to me, and Y. giving another to Z. And he may have the interest on that bond, when paid, from the time of his furnishing the money. But this I mention upon a supposition only that there may be pressing occasion for money. I have still by me between £200 and £300, and I suppose Z. has collected some small sums from the tenants. I shall be furnished with none from the Chapter, though a great deal is due to me.

Since I know not what may happen to me, I am determined, while I am possessed of all my rights as Dean, to fill up the two vacant places, that are without controversy in my sole gift; and to that end shall enclose a paper, dated at some distance of time, which you may put into the Sub-Dean's hand, and desire him to produce when there is proper occasion. You need not

let him know it was not written when dated, nor how long you have had it in your custody. Before it is delivered to the Sub-Dean, Sam must sign a paper, declaring that he will allow Joseph half the profit of the Sacrist's stipend and board wages, and perquisites of all kinds, as well of his perquisites as Deputy to Law, and of those that belong to the Sacrist's place, to which Sam is nominated. And in that case Joseph shall give another paper under his hand to allow him the half of his two little places when he can come into possession of them and get to be paid for them. For I would have them equal in their advantages. Sam, indeed, is the elder servant; but Joseph has suffered, and is like to suffer most, by a long and close confinement with me; and they are both very honest and very trusty servants, and I hope still to live to be able to do better for them. I doubt not but these nominations will hold good in law, unless the Bill to be brought in shall go backwards and void everything I have done as Dean from the time of my commitment, which will be the most extravagant and unreasonable thing that ever was done. On the contrary, I hope, when my friends understand my case, if they will give themselves the trouble of understanding it, they will be able to prevent any Bill whatsoever to qualify the Chapter to act without me; especially such a one as may vest in the Sub-Dean and Chapter the rights personally, separately, and solely belonging to the Dean.

Upon reconsidering matters—if Z.'s account of the narrative be just, I cannot conceive how it is possible to impeach *after* it has been read, *i. e.* after an open confession made by them that they have nothing under my hand: no oath, no living evidence against me, but inferences only, and conjecture and probability. They may impeach me, indeed, *before* it, because the H. not being then acquainted with what they have to produce, may suppose it to be much stronger than it is; but to impeach *after* a declaration made that they had no positive proof, is so absurd, that I could almost flatter myself with the thought that they mean it as a *check* against any attempt that may be made in the H. of Lords towards backing, and not designing it in good earnest. And yet, if that be so, K. is either deceived, or in the secret of deceiving me, thinking he makes a good bargain for me if I am neither impeached nor bailed, but escaping a Parliamentary prosecution, and left to the mercy of those who committed me

Thus you see I turn things every way, having no solid foundation on which to build my reasonings, for want of the intelligence requisite. Pray desire Z. to get me further and more particular accounts of the narrative if it be possible, and ask Bromley, also—who from henceforward is I.—to get you some account of it beforehand. Nothing is more instructive to me, or enables me better to pass some sort of judgment on my own state, and to guess at what will follow. That short account I. sent has furnished me with more remarks of that kind than all I heard before from all quarters. Once again, adieu.

This communication was found in a cover that, instead of a direction, contained these sentences :—

Desire Z., if he can possibly, to get a particular account whether Jack be mentioned in the report, *much*, or *at all*, and in what manner. As Y. is to discourse L. about the late villany of my neighbour, so I could wish I. would discourse V. and take his advice upon it, *whether* anything is to be done upon it, and *what*, and *when*.

The House do not appear to have been able to make anything either of the intercepted letter or the postscript. They referred it to the Committee who were examining Christopher Layer. The mystification of the initials doubtless suggested that there existed a secret understanding of the prisoner with various persons at large; but nothing could be laid hold of by the prosecutors to further their purpose.

Yalden, who obtained his Doctor of Divinity degree in 1707, and was in the enjoyment of two comfortable rectories in Hampshire, lived in the closest intimacy with the Bishop of Rochester. Walpole's spies, who had dogged his steps and watched his correspondence, denounced him as an active agent in the tremendous plot. He was seized, and brought before the Secret Committee. Among his papers a pocket-book had

been found, in a page of which were discovered the words "thorough-paced doctrine." It was in vain that Dr. Yalden denied any knowledge of any unconstitutional proceeding. He was known to be a confidential friend of the accused Bishop, and the mysterious words in the pocket-book appeared to suggest the blackest treason.

The Doctor volunteered an explanation, by which it appeared that many years before he had ventured among the congregation of the then famous Nonconformist, Daniel Burgess, and heard him explain his ideas respecting religious opinions that ought to be eschewed. "But above all other pernicious doctrines, my brethren," exclaimed the preacher, "take heed and beware, my beloved, of the *thorough-paced doctrine*—that doctrine, I mean, that coming in at one ear, passes straight through the head, and out at the opposite ear." Dr. Yalden took out his pocket-book and made a note of this novelty in his professional studies, and there it had remained till the discovery of "the Atterbury Plot" brought it forward as damning evidence of guilt. The members of the Secret Committee, of whom Pulteney was one, were very much discomfited by this simple explanation; and, as if fearing that the "thorough-paced doctrine" might be made to bear a close relation to Whiggery, permitted Dr. Yalden to go at large.

Then, to make an exhibition of activity, on the 11th they voted Bishop Atterbury and George Kelly guilty of the alleged conspiracy. On the 15th Dr. John Freind, the physician, was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. They now put

their design against the Bishop into the shape of a "Bill of Pains and Penalties"—a regular legislative measure to pass each branch of the Legislature, when its provisions had been discussed and approved by majorities in the ordinary way. A trial in the law courts must have failed for want of legal evidence, but as the Government commanded a majority in both Houses, they knew they could dispense with the principles and precedents that would influence properly constituted juries. It was not till the 23rd of the month that the Bishop wrote to the Speaker, requesting permission to employ as his counsel Sir Constantine Phipps and William Wynne, Esq., and for his solicitors, Messrs. Joseph Taylor and William Morice, and that they might have free access to him to enable him to prepare his defence, and to receive his instructions respecting the Bill. It was granted.

Among the indications of sympathy was the publication of an engraved portrait of the Bishop behind an iron grating. Underneath were verses expressing commiseration for his position. Bowes, the printseller, and Edward Ward, the writer of the verses, were sent to prison. That some of the clergy were not indifferent to this persecution was shown on the 16th of September, when in several churches and chapels in the metropolis prayers were offered up for Bishop Atterbury, on account of his being grievously afflicted with the gout. Some members of the Government would have incarcerated the preachers, but they contented themselves with securing the co-operation of their ecclesiastical superiors.

Parliament assembled on the 8th of October. The

King, in his speech, apprized them of the discovery of a formidable conspiracy, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for a year was resolved upon. This was followed by a Bill for exacting £100,000 from Roman Catholics. A few months before, a proclamation had been issued banishing them from London and Westminster, and confining them to their homes. The fact was, both Houses of the Legislature had been carefully packed, the Peers with new creations or increased dignities—the Commons with placemen and expectants, completely at the service of the Ministry. Their religious prejudices were as powerfully worked upon as their aspirations for rank or wealth, and the result was that they were quite willing to believe in the danger of the Protestant religion, and quite ready to punish all those accused of endeavouring to destroy it.

The arbitrary manner in which this venerable prelate, though known to be suffering from ill health, was treated during his imprisonment, reflects disgrace upon Walpole, who vindictively directed his prosecution as a retaliation for his own incarceration. All the winter the Bishop was forced to endure the severity of this confinement, without the slightest mitigation, prevented from engaging in any employment that might divert his mind, and the most vexatious restraints placed upon his communicating with the members of his own family. At last—a confession of the weakness of their case against him—his enemies proceeded to actual violence, of which he made a complaint, in a petition to the House of Lords, presented on the 5th of April. It stated:—

That on Thursday, the 4th inst., about three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Williamson, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, attended by Mr. Serjeant the Gentleman Porter, and two warders, came up to the petitioner's room, whilst he was at dinner, and having put his two servants under the custody of wardens below, told the petitioner he must search him. The petitioner asked him for his warrant; he answered, "I have authority from the Ministry," affirming it upon his salvation: but the petitioner refused to be searched till he showed it. He then said he had a verbal order, but refused to say from whom. The petitioner told him if it were verbal only, it did not appear to him, and he refused to be searched. He endeavoured, nevertheless, to search the petitioner's pockets himself by force, but the petitioner wrapped his morning gown about him, and would not suffer him till he showed his warrant, which the petitioner demanded five or six times, to no purpose. He then ordered the two wardens attending to come to the petitioner and do their duty, and one of them laid hands upon him, and began to use violence; and then the petitioner knocked and called often for his servants. Colonel Williamson said they should not (nor were they permitted) come near him. Upon this the petitioner submitted, and they took everything out of his pockets, and searched his bureau and desk, and carried away with them two seals. They seized also a paper in the petitioner's pocket, but this being a letter to his solicitor, about the managing of his cause, which the petitioner thought they could have no pretence to seize while he was under the protection of Parliament, he took it again from them and tore it, but they carried a part of it along with them. They searched also his two servants below, and took away a seal from one of them; and those servants likewise demanded their warrant, but they had none to produce. The petitioner, therefore, as a lord of Parliament, though under confinement, humbly prays that their lordships would be pleased to take these matters into their serious consideration, and grant him such relief and protection as their lordships shall judge proper against such unprecedented, illegal, and insolent usage.

There is reason to believe that Williamson had been instructed by Walpole to commit this outrage on his prisoner, in the hope to obtain by surprise con-

firmatory evidence of his charges. To disturb an old man at his meals for the purpose of rifling his pockets, was surely unnecessary to promote the ends of justice. This, however, was not exactly what the minister wanted; the accused must be condemned, and in his eagerness to hunt him down he lost sight of justice as well as of manliness.

The strictness with which the Bishop's incarceration was maintained is thus referred to in a letter from Pope to Gay:—

Tell Dr. Arbuthnot that even pigeon-pies and hogs' puddings are thought dangerous by our governors; for those that have been sent to the Bishop of Rochester are opened, and profanely pried into at the Tower. It is the first time that dead pigeons have been suspected of carrying intelligence. To be serious, you and Mr. Congreve and the Doctor will be sensible of my concern and surprise at his commitment, whose welfare is as much my concern as any friend I have. I think myself a most unfortunate wretch. I no sooner love, and, upon knowledge, fix my esteem to any man, but he either dies, like Mr. Craggs, or is sent to imprisonment, like the Bishop. God send him as well as I wish him, manifest him to be as innocent as I believe, and make all his enemies know him as well as I do, that they may think of him as well.*

Other literary friends were scarcely less disturbed by the dangerous position of one for whom they had cultivated a very warm regard. The Dean of St. Patrick's was well aware of the infamous resources the Government had at its command, and the little scruple they were likely to have in employing them to get rid of a formidable opponent. Swift's animosity to the Whigs was quite as strong as that of the Bishop. In a very little time he contrived to

* Pope's Letters.

give them no slight trouble in Dublin by the public opposition he created there respecting Wood's Halfpence.* The Dean wrote a letter containing the following passages:—

Strange revolutions since I left you—a bishop of my old acquaintance in the Tower for treason, and a doctor of my new acquaintance made a bishop. I escaped hanging very narrowly a month ago, for a letter from Preston, directed to me, was opened in the post office, and sealed again in a very slovenly manner, when Manby found it only contained a request from a poor curate. This hath determined me against writing treason.

It is admitted that Kelly the parson is admitted to Kelly the squire,† and that they are cooking up a discovery between them, for the improvement of the hempen manufacture. It is reckoned that the best trade in London this winter will be that of an evidence. As much as I hate the Tories, I cannot but pity them as fools. Some think likewise that the Pretender ought to have his choice of two caps—a red cap or a fool's cap. It is a wonderful thing to see the Tories provoking his present Majesty, whose clemency, mercy, and forgiving temper have been so signal, so extraordinary, so more than humane, during the whole course of this reign; which plainly appears not only from his own speeches and declarations, but also from a most ingenious pamphlet just come over relating to the wicked Bishop of Rochester.‡

The writer's declaration of hating the Tories, with whom and for whom he had unscrupulously acted for many years, may be regarded as equally sincere as his estimate of the King's character. His letter had to go through the post office.

The proceedings of the House of Commons were virtually a prejudging of the case. In every instance in which a political cause has been left to the decision

* Scott's "Swift."

† The Nonjuror who had been sent to Bishop Atterbury, and the Captain of the same name. Both were in prison, but the last was suffered to escape.

‡ Scott's "Swift."

of a party majority, the result may always be anticipated; but the present is so glaringly prejudicial, that no wonder the accused felt reluctant to be tried by such an assembly. Atterbury therefore came to the determination of not attempting a defence before such a tribunal, and this he expressed in the following communication to the Speaker:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SPENCER COMPTON, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Tower, April 4, 1723.

Sir,

By the votes of the House of Commons of March 11, 1722–3, I find it was "Resolved,—

"That it *appears* to this House that Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was *principally* concerned in *forming*, *directing*, and *carrying on* a wicked and detestable conspiracy for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in Church and State by placing a Popish Pretender on the throne."

Upon duly weighing which *Resolution*, I have been in some doubt how far it might be fit for me (though conscious of my own innocence) to attempt to clear it before that Honorable House in contradiction to so solemn a declaration already made by it; especially since nothing else is charged upon me in the Bill, against which my counsel were to plead, but what is contained in that vote.

It has also happened that one of my counsel,* on whose assistance I greatly relied, has been so much employed in the defence of another person as not to have had time fully to instruct himself for mine.

Upon these accounts, I shall decline giving the House of Commons any trouble to-day, and be content with the opportunity (if the Bill goes on) of making my defence before another House of which I have the honour to be a member.

Be pleased to communicate this to the House.—I am, &c.†

* Sir Constantine Phipps.

† Atterbury Papers.

The Bishop's enemies were not inactive: having kept him in rigorous imprisonment for seven months, they now determined to employ their parliamentary majority to crush him. On the 23rd of March the ministers brought forward "the Bill of Pains and Penalties," in the House of Commons, for the purpose of punishing "Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester," a copy of which they forwarded to him at the Tower. He addressed a petition to the House of Lords requesting their counsel, and reminding them of a standing order of the House prohibiting any peer appearing before the House of Commons, either in person or by counsel, to answer charges there preferred against him. There was much discussion, the accused having a few zealous friends in that assembly, and the Commons had for some time been encroaching on their privileges; nevertheless, the supporters of the Government were in an overwhelming majority; seventy-eight to thirty-two, decided that the Bishop, being only a lord in Parliament, and *no Peer*,* might without affecting the power of the House make his defence in the House of Commons. The reverend bench, his bitter opponents since his proceedings in Convocation, readily coincided in this self-denying ordinance; but he was far too good a Churchman to accept it.

On the 9th of April "the Bill of Pains and Penalties" passed its third reading in the Commons, and was sent to the Lords. It was to the effect:—

That after the 1st of June, 1723, Francis, Lord Bishop of

* Prelates had been spiritual peers since Parliaments had been established.

Rochester, shall be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical whatsoever; and that from thenceforth the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he shall for ever be disabled and rendered incapable from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument, within this realm, or any other His Majesty's dominions; as also from exercising any office, ecclesiastical or spiritual, whatever; that he shall suffer perpetual exile and be for ever banished this realm, and all other His Majesty's dominions; that he shall depart out of the same by the 25th of June next, and if he return into or be found within this realm, or any other His Majesty's dominions, after the said 25th of June, he, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall suffer *as a felon* without benefit of clergy, and shall be *utterly incapable of any pardon from His Majesty his heirs or successors.* That all persons who shall be aiding and assisting to his return into this realm, or any other His Majesty's dominions, or shall conceal him within the same, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. That if any of His Majesty's subjects (except such persons as shall be licensed for that purpose under the sign manual) shall after the 25th of June hold *any correspondence* in person with him, within this realm, or without, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, or with any person employed by him, knowing such person to be so employed, they shall on conviction be adjudged *felons* without benefit of clergy. Lastly, that offences against this act committed out of this realm may be tried in any county within Great Britain.

These were pains and penalties with a vengeance. The leader of the Opposition in the House of Peers was to be got rid of effectually without leaving so much as the shadow of a chance of his troubling the Ministry again. The vindictiveness of the persecution is equally apparent in the provisions of this monstrous Bill to prevent his enjoying the comfort of unrestrained communication with his family and dearest friends. His affectionate daughter, his zealous son-in-law, would render themselves liable to the axe

of the executioner if they assured him of their love and duty without permission; while the pens of the kind-hearted Pope and the earnest-minded Wesley were equally held in check by the rope of the hangman.

On the 6th of May came on the first reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. Bishop Atterbury was brought from the Tower to be present. He was attended by his counsel, Sir Constantine Phipps and William Wynne, Esq. The counsel for the Crown were Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg. Notwithstanding all the art that had been employed to create a prejudice against the accused, the proceedings excited considerable interest. It is necessary to inform the reader that one of the witnesses for the prosecution, Neynoe, a clergyman, had recently been drowned. Walpole acknowledged in the House of Commons that he had paid this fellow liberally for information. This information, notwithstanding his death, was employed in the trial; but there was assistance that his enemies relied on still more for a conviction, the source of which they carefully concealed. Both Neynoe and Sempill were Walpole's agents.

Copies of the letters alleged to have been intercepted were produced, and their contents deciphered. One was dated April 20, 1722, addressed to "Marsgrave" (Lord Mar), and signed "T. Illington," a signature that does not appear to any of the Bishop's previous communications. There is nothing in it that might not have been written by any one having acquired a knowledge of his secret correspondence. It merely accepts proposals that had been made to

the writer, and professes a willingness to forward communications, and act in conjunction with a person who, it is suggested, should be directed to come to town. This indicates Lord Oxford, and a reference to existing indisposition—the Bishop's state of health and recent domestic loss were well known—was relied on as fixing the authorship. Another document of the same date, addressed to "Mr. Chivers" (General Dillon), was signed "T. Jones," a signature also not to be found among the Bishop's previous letters. It merely expresses the writer's opinion that no active exertions in the cause could be made by him at present, and repeats what is already known of his having accepted the direction of affairs in place of certain parties by whom they had been mismanaged. A third letter of this same date, addressed to "Jackson" (James III.), bears as a signature the number "1378," which it must be confessed is in sequence with the cipher last employed. It contains statements and allusions similar to the other two, but nothing that might not have been artfully constructed to fix suspicion on the supposed writer. As Mr. Glover has shown,* the manner in which they were deciphered betrays the influence of some one who had been behind the scenes—to whom their composition, I would add, was as easy as their explanation.

Witnesses were called to connect Bishop Atterbury with these documents, and the counsel for the Crown managed to elicit from a Mrs. Barnes that a little dog, called Harlequin, had been entrusted to

* Stuart Papers. Appendix.

her from certain implicated parties still abroad, as a present to the Bishop of Rochester. The witness was not disposed to criminate the accused, but, as witnesses not unfrequently do when bothered by a "Buzfuz," she said exactly what she ought not, perfectly unconscious that she was doing any harm. This inadvertence was promptly taken advantage of; and the gratification of his enemies—who had hitherto with difficulty concealed their chagrin at the deficiency of legal evidence to support the charge—was excessive. The little dog was hailed as a god-send, and with renewed hopes of being able to hunt down their prey with his assistance, they watched the further proceedings.*

Five days elapsed before the case for the Crown was brought to a conclusion. On the 11th the friends of the accused, who had contrived to gain admission to the House, with anxious hearts waited to hear his defence. They may have entertained hopes that the accomplished orator would have been able to demolish the incoherent fabric of suspicions and hearsays that had been raised against him. If so, they were not disappointed; never was a weak cause more skilfully picked to pieces. He commenced by dwelling on the cruel severity of his treatment since his incarceration, then noticed the unfair spirit with which the trial had been conducted, particularly bringing forward examinations, neither dated, signed, nor sworn to; the reading letters said to be criminal, written in another man's hand,

* Swift made some fun out of this incident, making the Jacobite lap-dog the subject of a humorous poem.

and supposed to be dictated by the accused, without offering any proof, though called upon, that he either dictated them, or was privy to them; the not allowing him copies of the deciphered letters (though petitioned for) till the trial was so far advanced that he had not sufficient time to consider them.

"And all this," as he impressively added, "in a proceeding where the counsel for the Bill professed they had *no legal evidence*, nor were to be confined to the rules of any court of law or equity, though when it was for their service, they constantly sheltered themselves under them."

The Bishop then directs attention to the principal charge. It accuses him of having been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy, and being a principal actor therein, by traitorously consulting and corresponding with divers persons to raise an insurrection against His Majesty within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the same, in order to depose His Majesty and place the Pretender on his throne; moreover, that he traitorously corresponded with the said Pretender, and persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed.

There is no doubt of the culpability of the accused, though he did no more than many distinguished men had done when they wanted to get rid of the Pretender's father; but of this there was no evidence before the court. Atterbury demanded:—

Has either part of this charge been made good by the counsel for the Bill? Have they proved me guilty of any one consultation with any one person whatsoever for the purpose alleged? Is there anything in the reports or appendices that tends towards such a proof, except the idle story of the Burford Club,

too much exploded already to be worth confuting, and two or three loose passages in Neynoe's and Pancier's hearsay informations, where I am mentioned by the one or the other, together with the Lords Orrery, North, Strafford, Kinnoul, and Sir H. Goring, as concerned in the management of this affair? Neynoe's pretended intelligence is from Kelly, Pancier's from Skeen; both Kelly and Skeen have at your bar *denied* that they ever said any such thing.

The Bishop then enters into an account of the state of his intimacy with these pretended confederates.

The Earl of Strafford has visited me now and then, and I him, when I had health; and I have dined with him *once* at his house, and but once that I remember. At my Lord North's table I have not eat so much as once, and though I have a great honour for that noble lord, yet I never had any intimacy with him; especially since the affair of the Dormitory, wherein he appeared against me with so much zeal and earnestness, that I had certainly lost the cause if his affairs had not called him into Holland while it was depending. Lawson, indeed, has sworn from Farnden, who *denies* it, that this lord often visited me at Bromley—but in truth he never was there above thrice in all his life; and if he had been there oftener, a good account might have been given of such an intercourse, for *he is a tenant of the Bishopric.*

With my Lord Kinnoul, I verily believe I have not been once these two years; nor met my Lord Orrery with company upon any business whatever but that of Parliament, during the same time; and once I think we dined together at the house of a great person, whose name, if I should mention, your lordships would not think any harm done or intended at such a meeting. I am thus particular as to my Lord Orrery, because he is said to have been the chairman of that club, of which I was so ill a member as not to know—no, not even to this day—of whom it consisted, or where it was held. But when the chairman was bailed, this groundless and senseless piece of scandal vanished.

I scarce ever visited Sir Henry Goring in my life. He has seen me, indeed, several times at the Deanery, but not once at Bromley; and the occasion of such visits was his placing four

of his sons at Westminster School, where I think they still are, and his intentions to breed some of them up for the College. But Mr. Caryl's information, upon *hearsay*, as all the rest against me are, about a rupture between us, is so far from being true, that the last time Sir Henry saw me (above a twelvemonth ago) I promised him to bring one of his sons in upon the foundation, and wish I may be able to be as good as my word.

He next deals with the statement that he had been entrusted with the Pretender's military chest, containing £200,000, respecting which he gave his solemn assurance,—

That I never had in my possession or power, of my own or other man's money lodged in my hands, or in the hands of others, with my consent and privity, in either specie, bills, bonds, or securities of any kind, full £1,200 at any one time of my life, since I married my daughter about eight years ago, except the money I collected for the Dormitory, and which, as soon as I had it, I deposited in other hands that I judged responsible.

He adds, with as much good humour as truth:—

It would be well for me, if I must be ruined by the present Bill, that this article were in some measure true; for as no great sum appears to have been disbursed on this plot, I suppose the gentlemen concerned would not envy me my share of it, and then the thoughts of perpetual exile would be more tolerable, when I am sure of some support.

In the same spirit he suggests an advertisement, with a promise of a pardon, calling upon the depositors to claim their money; then passes on to the treasonable correspondence, dated 20th April. The charge of authorship he proceeds to disprove:—

My being confined, April 20, 1722, to my bed or chair, and attended every minute, day and night, before, at, and after that time, by some of my servants, and receiving frequent messages by others about my wife's illness and approaching death; the agreeing testimony of the whole family that no stranger came near me about this time; and the coincidence of the election for the School of Westminster, which made my several servants

capable of recollecting the times at which they were either with me or from me, have concurred towards furnishing me with such a proof of my innocence in this matter, as I hope is not to be withstood.

The Bishop makes a masterly analysis of the evidence brought to fix on him the writing the three letters. Having disposed of this charge, he adds :—

If it be said, "Who, then, wrote these three letters, and with what view were they written ?" the answer to the latter of these questions is pretty obvious—*my being here at your bar sufficiently explains it.*

They were concocted for the express purpose of bringing the obnoxious prelate within the toils. There was another letter brought forward, as one he had written to the Abbé Dubois. This also was a forgery. He avers,—

But, in truth, it is not in my handwriting. I appeal securely to every one that knows it. Had I written it, it is absurd to think that I should use a feigned name only for my correspondent, and mention Mr. Kelly without disguise by the name of Johnson, which, as the Committee observe on this very occasion, was the name by which he constantly went.

He next considers the intercepted letters written to him, said to be by Lord Mar and General Dillon. He says,—

That they reached me is not affirmed; that I answered them is not pretended, and is by me with great truth denied.

Of one he very rightly observes, that it—

Cannot reasonably be thought to have been written with any other view than that of being intercepted, and of fixing on me the letter of April 20, to Musgrave, the receipt of which is there owned, and something is further added to point out my function and circumstances, and prevent mistakes. This letter is committed to the common post, and sent upon its errand. One may doubt who wrote it, but one cannot doubt with what design it was written.

As the design and the designers of the plot to ruin Atterbury will have to come under review again, we pass them for the present, to refer to the part played in this awful conspiracy by the lap-dog. The following passage occurs in one of the letters :—"The little dog was sent ten days ago, and ordered to be delivered to you;" and in another it is said, "Mr. Illington is in great tribulation for poor Harlequin," which, as the Bishop remarked, appearing in a letter bearing a date "five days after the burial of my wife, cannot mean her, and being but five days after it, can as little mean me, considering the melancholy circumstances I was then under." Further on he adds :—

Mrs. Barnes has varied in her evidence, and has sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied that the dog was for me. And the most that she has ever said on that head is, that Mr. Kelly once told her so. For myself, I can with truth and seriousness say, that I never asked, received, or saw this present, nor know anything of it, but from common fame; nor have I to this day had any letter or message whatever from any one concerning it.

The identification of the dog as a link in the evidence was thought of sufficient importance for a Cabinet minute. While giving this, the reader is directed to the hostile elements in the assembly that accepted such evidence, and made the witness sign what in another part of her examination she had denied. The Council was presided over by the Primate, a bitter theological opponent, and the last of the members was an equally bitter political opponent.

At the Cabinet Council, May 23, 1723, present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, President Privy Seal, and Chamberlain, the Dukes of Grafton and Devonshire, Lords Berkeley, Townsend, and Carteret, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mrs. Barnes, being interrogated whether she knew of a little dog that was brought from France, answered, that a little dog, whose leg was broken, was left with her to be cured by Mr. Kelly, and that the said little dog was not designed for her, but for the Bishop of Rochester. That the dog was called Harlequin, a very fine spotted dog. That Kelly promised her, the said Barnes, to get the dog for her from the Bishop of Rochester, in case it did not recover its lameness. JANE BARNES.

Taken and signed in the Cabinet Council.*

Mrs. Barnes appears to have been flustered into this admission. It is noteworthy that she does not profess to have had any communication with the Bishop, direct or indirect; and the Cabinet Council, who forced her to attest with her signature her very shadowy testimony, have only shown by it the difficulty they had in inculpating their intended victim.

The Bishop exposes the weakness of the evidence against him, after this conclusive fashion:—

Neynoe pretended not, for aught appears, to know anything of me. He only quotes Mr. Kelly for his intelligence. Mr. Kelly absolutely denies it, and there is nobody else to back it. I think such a dead evidence cannot affect Mr. Kelly himself—much less can it affect me through him when he declares he never said any such things. Were Neynoe now alive, and Mr. Kelly dead, and incapable of contradicting him, what Neynoe pretended to have by hearsay only from Kelly, would not sure be of much weight. Shall what Neynoe, now dead, says against a third person, and Kelly, now living, contradicts, be thought of any moment?

It was of moment to those who were eager to ruin a political opponent, but to nobody else. A little further on he thus amusingly traces the chain of *proofs* that had been made to bear against him:—

A right honorable person hears Neynoe say, that he heard

* Nichols. Correspondence of Atterbury, I., 380.

Kelly say, what he must have heard persons of greater figure say, that they had heard the Pretender say, concerning the Bishop of Rochester. And by this chain of hearsays, thus deduced, am I proved to be a sort of first minister to the Pretender.

After further showing the groundlessness of the charges brought against him, Atterbury points out the manner in which his time was engrossed when said to be busy with these treasonable designs.

"Is it probable," he asks, "that when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds, at Westminster and Bromley, when I was consulting all the books of the Church at Westminster, from the foundation, and was engaged also in a correspondence with two learned men about a subject of great use and equal difficulty—the settling the times of writing the Four Gospels—that I should at that very time be directing and carrying on a conspiracy.

"Is it probable that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and forward this conspiracy, and yet nobody living known when, where, and with whom they were held?—that I, who lived always at home, and never when at my deanery stirred out of one room, where I received all company promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have opportunities of concerting such matters?—or, if I had, yet that none of my domestics or friends, with whom I most familiarly lived, should ever observe any appearances of this kind?—that, if I had been in these measures, no evidence of it would be found in my papers, which were all at once seized at both my houses, and sifted with the utmost exactness? That after above eight months' imprisonment, and above twelve months' diligent inquiry into my conduct and correspondence, my friendships and acquaintances—after confining all my men servants but one now for seven weeks, and searching me twice in the Tower itself, in order to make new discoveries—nothing of consequence should appear against me, nor any one living witness charge me with anything really criminal?

Cleverly put together as these passages are, the remainder of the defence is still more so. It is impossible to peruse it without going with the

advocate in all his telling arguments and forcible declarations. We may, therefore, imagine what must have been its effect upon delivery by "the old man eloquent," thus pleading for everything that was dear to him. Witnesses came forward to corroborate the statements it contained, Pope being among the most zealous. The more honorable Whigs could not but regard with admiration an opponent who had so signally distinguished himself, and it took the legal ingenuity of the two counsel for the Crown, and the ecclesiastical fury of several of his Episcopal rivals, to calm down that creditable feeling into political indifference. One of the Bishops (Gastrell), who entered into the debate that followed, deserves very honorable mention. He had been a school-fellow and fellow-student of the accused, and the defence impressed him so strongly in his favour that he spoke warmly in his behalf. The Duke of Wharton, who had been prejudiced against him, also made a long and powerful speech in his favour. The Government, however, was inexorable. On the 16th of the month, the Bill of Pains and Penalties passed a third reading by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three, and on the 27th it received the Royal assent.*

* The illegality of such trials has been shown by an able legist, when commenting on a similar party prosecution that occurred about a quarter of a century before. "However clearly," observes Lord Macaulay, "political crime may have been defined by ancient laws, a man accused of it ought not to be tried by a crowd of five hundred and thirteen eager politicians—of whom he can challenge none even with cause, who have no judge to guide them, who are allowed to come in and go out as they choose, who hear as much or as little as they choose of the accusation and of the defence, who are exposed during the investigation to every kind of corrupting influence, who are inflamed by all the passions which animated debates naturally, excite, who cheer one orator and cough down another, who are roused from sleep to cry Ay or No, or who are hurried half drunk from their

When Atterbury was Dean of Christ Church College, Dr. Gastrell, a controversialist of almost equal power, had been opposed to him; but observing the arbitrary manner in which the Government were proceeding, he now stood alone amongst his brethren of the Episcopal bench—whom he severely censured—in denouncing their conduct. Bishop Gastrell did more than speak in his defence—he subsequently contributed to his support. The Bishop of Chester was in heart quite as earnest a Jacobite as the Bishop of Rochester. The fact is, the ultra-loyal Bishops were only too eager to sacrifice their right reverend brother, and several gratified a long course of hostility by helping to complete his ruin.* They determined on being zealous Whigs as long as a Whig Government was in office.

Bishop Hoadly, one of his old opponents, came forward to help, at the call of the minister, to condemn their High Church brother on the bench. He was then Bishop of Hereford, but when he had secured the removal of the Bishop of Rochester, he was rewarded with the rich bishopric of Winchester. The animus with which he had conducted his controversies with his opponent is far more excusable than the relentless severity with which he pressed for his destruction. A great controversialist was Dr. Hoadly, though his efforts in that

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suppers to divide. For this reason, and for no other, the attainder of Fenwick is to be condemned. It was *unjust* and of *evil example.*"—"History of England, from the Accession of James II.," Chap. XXIII.

* The Bishop of Chester did not live to see his good offices produce much beneficial effect. He died November 24, 1725.

direction are totally forgotten; but, except from the Walpole point of view, he was but an indifferent divine, notwithstanding that Dr. Akenside made him the theme of a dull Ode, containing these lines :—

> Not monkish craft, the tyrant's claim divine,
> Not regal zeal, the bigot's cruel shrine,
> Could longer guard from Reason's warfare sage;
> Not the wild rabble to sedition wrought,
> Nor synods by the papal genius taught,
> Nor St. John's spirit loose, *nor Atterbury's rage.*

There exists a remarkable confirmation of the Bishop's denial of authorship in the pretended intercepted letters, upon which he was condemned, in a note at the end of Mr. Nichols' first volume of Bishop Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, published in 1783. The Editor mentions the existence of a volume of treasonable letters, formerly belonging to Lord Macclesfield, and then in the possession of Mr. Thomas Astle, as containing the Bishop's communications with the Pretender, the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lansdowne, the Earl of Mar, the Chevalier Wogan, General Dillon, Jackson, Carte, Kelly, and others; apparently copies obtained by Sir Luke Schaub, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Crawford, and other of our diplomatic agents at foreign courts. The amount of treachery that must have been required to secure copies of these secret communications, suggests the easiness with which fictitious letters might have been procured.

In no part of his life does Pope appear to so much advantage as in his devotion to his friend when any exhibition of regard in that quarter was sure of being remembered to his prejudice. He appeared as

a witness on his trial, he gave eloquent testimony in his favour, he consoled him in his dungeon, and wrote the most cheering and the most gratifying communications when forced to bring his long and friendly association with him to a conclusion. It is impossible for human sympathy to have spoken out more touchingly than in the two letters he addressed to the prisoner in the month of May. It is not improbable that the writer had some knowledge of the secret transactions in which the Bishop had been engaged, and wrote, as he had spoken, to neutralize the obloquy that Atterbury's enemies had succeeded in casting upon his name for his alleged partiality to Papists. Be this as it may, these letters will ever remain evidence of his disinterestedness and fidelity.

ALEXANDER POPE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

May 2, 1723.

My dear Lord,

Once more I write to you as I promised, and this once I feel will be the last! The curtain will soon be drawn between my friend and me, and nothing left but to wish you a long good night. May you enjoy a state of repose in this life, not unlike that sleep of the soul which some have believed is to succeed it; where we lie utterly forgetful of that world from which we are gone, and ripening for that to which we are to go. If you retain any memory of the past, let it only image to you what has pleased you best—sometimes present a dream of an absent friend, or bring you back an agreeable conversation. But, upon the whole, I hope you will think less of the time past than of the future; as the former has been less kind to you than the latter infallibly will be. Do I not envy the world your studies: they will tend to the benefit of men against whom you can have no complaint—I mean of all posterity; and perhaps, at your time of life, nothing else is worth your care. What is every year of a wise man's life but a censure or critique on the past? Those, whose date is the shortest, live long enough to

laugh at one half of it: the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all. You may now begin to think your manhood was too much a puerility; and you will never suffer your age to be but a second infancy. The toys and baubles of your childhood are hardly now more below you, than those toys of our riper and of our declining years—the drums and rattles of ambition, and the dirt and bubbles of avarice. At this time, when you are cut off from a little society and made a citizen of the world at large, you should bend your talents, not to serve a party, or a few, but all mankind. Your genius should mount above that mist in which its participation and neighbourhood with earth long involved it. To shine abroad and to Heaven, ought to be the business and the glory of your present situation. Remember it was at such a time that the greatest Lights of Antiquity dazzled and blazed the most—in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death; but why do I talk of dazzling or blazing? It was then that they did good, that they gave light, and that they became guides to mankind.

These aims alone are worthy of spirits truly great, and such I, therefore, hope will be yours. Resentment, indeed, may remain, perhaps cannot be quite extinguished in the noblest minds; but revenge never will harbour there: higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged, and cause them to prefer the whole to any part of mankind, especially to so small a part as one's single self.

Believe me, my lord, I look upon you as a spirit entered into another life, as one just upon the edge of immortality; where the passions and affections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little views and all mean retrospects. Nothing is worth your looking back; therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the world look after you; but take care that it be not with pity, but with esteem and admiration.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, and passion for your fame as well as happiness, your, &c.*

* Atterbury Papers.

Alexander Pope to Bishop Atterbury.*

May, 1723.

My dear Lord,

While yet I can write to you, I must correspond with you till the very moment it be felony; and when I can no longer write *to* you, I will write *of* you. To tell you that *my* heart is full of your defence† is no more, I believe, than the worst enemy you have must own of *his*. You have really, without a figure, had all the triumph that ancient eloquence boasts of. You have met with the fate, frequent to great and good men, to gain applause where you are denied justice.

Let me take the only occasion I have had in the whole series of your misfortunes to congratulate you, and not you alone, but posterity, upon this *noble defence*. I already see in what lustre that innocency is to appear to other ages which this has overborne and oppressed. I know perfectly well what a share of credit it will be to have appeared on your side and been called *your friend*. I am far prouder of *that word* you publicly spake of me than of anything I have ever yet heard of myself during my whole life. Thanks be to God! that I, a private man, concerned in no judicature and employed in no public cause, have had the honour in this great and shining incident (which will make the first figure in the history of this time) to enter, as it were, my protest to your innocency and my declaration of your friendship.

Be assured, my dear lord, no time shall ever efface the memory of that friendship from my heart, should I be denied the power of expressing it any more with my pen in this manner; but could the permission of corresponding with you be obtained (which you had once the extreme goodness to think of asking even of those from whom you would ask nothing, I believe, but what lies very near your heart), ¶ would leave off all other writing and apply myself wholly to you (where it would please me best) for the amusement, and I would hope comfort, of

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* This letter was omitted by Mr. Pope in the collection published *by himself* in 1737. It has no date, but appears to have been written *soon after* May 15, 1723, when the bill to inflict pains and penalties upon Bishop Atterbury passed the House of Peers.—W. M.

† Delivered at the bar of the House of Lords, on Saturday, May 11, 1723, in the hearing of Mr. Pope.—W. M.

your exile, till God and your innocence, which will support you under it, restore you from it; than which there is not a sincerer or warmer prayer in the breast of, my lord, your ever obliged and affectionate.*

It has been asserted that Lord Chesterfield ventured to state that he called upon Pope and found him with a large copy of the Holy Scriptures open on the table, when his lordship, knowing his way of thinking upon that book, asked him jocosely if he was going to write an answer to it. Much too vulgar a joke for Lord Chesterfield to have attempted. It is then represented that the poet explained that the Bible was given him by the Bishop of Rochester, who on presenting the volume recommended him impressively to abide by it, whereupon Pope, with an impertinence as natural as the vulgarity imputed to the author of the Letters to his Son, is made to ask how long it was since the Bishop had abided by it, as he had never done so at the early part of his career. To which he is said to have replied, "We have not time to talk of these things—but take home the book; I will abide by it, and I recommend you to do so too—and God bless you!"†

The correspondence between Pope and Atterbury furnishes a complete refutation to this malicious misrepresentation. The poet visited the prisoner in the Tower, where he received that most precious of memorials. The conversation that did pass between them was of a nature that so exalted the high estimate of the reverend prelate Pope had more than once expressed, as to cause his subsequently writing when it came to his remembrance:—

* Atterbury Papers. † Maty's "Life of Chesterfield."

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour—
How shined the soul unconquer'd in the Tower! *

Concerning the prelates who combined to hunt down their episcopal brother, Lord Bathurst remarked during the debate:—

He could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless it was that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities, of the man they should destroy.†

The noble lord's regard for the Bishop was of long standing; doubtless the warm-hearted Pope had also assisted in influencing his mind in favour of the victim of ecclesiastical animosity. It might have been anticipated that Atterbury's coadjutors in the Anglican Church would have felt a desire to support a pillar of the Establishment thus despotically removed from it. But they volunteered to assist in the despotism; the Bishop of St. Asaph exhibiting quite as rancorous feeling against him as the Primate.

Among the poetical sympathizers with Atterbury was Samuel Wesley, who wrote some verses on his imprisonment, entitled "The Black Bird," in which his political opponents are thus described:—

Say, shall recording verse disclose
The names and natures of his foes?
The boding Screech-owl, prophet sad;
The Vulture, feeder on the dead;
The Harpy, ravenous and impure;
The Hawk, obsequious to the lure;
The noisy, senseless, chattering Pye,
The mere Lord William of the sky.
Nor shall the Bat unmention'd be—
A mongrel twilight trimmer he;

* Pope's Works. † State Trials.

When Empire is to fowls transferr'd,
He clips his wings and is a bird;
When stronger beasts the conquests get,
He lights, and walks upon four feet;
With crafty flight or subtle pace,
Still safe without an act of grace.
The Kite, fit gaoler, must be named,
In prose and verse already famed;
Bold to kill mice, and now and then
To steal a chicken from a hen.
None readier was, when seized, to slay,
And after to dissect the prey;
With all the insolence can rise
From power, when join'd to cowardice.
The captive Black Bird kept his cheer,
The gaoler anxious shook with fear,
Lest roguish traitors should conspire
T'unbolt the door or break the wire.
Traitors if e'er they silence broke,
And disaffected if they look;
For, by himself he judged his prey,
If once let loose, would fly away.

The author had been long attached to Bishop Atterbury, and gave him many similar proofs of his regard. His detestation of his enemies was no less hearty, particularly against Walpole, who appears to have been the Kite of the preceding poem.

When the able leader of the Opposition had thus been politically extinguished, the Whig Government considered it might be safe to exhibit a little "clemency." Restrictions were taken off his intercourse with his friends; the consequence was that they flocked to his prison to express their respect, their admiration, and their sorrow. Among his visitors came the entire Westminster School. Who could be unmindful of an "Old Westminster," whose talents conferred so much honour on the establishment, and who had only a few years before accomplished so much for its improvement?

The grossest misrepresentations have been published of Bishop Atterbury's motives in embracing the cause of the son of James II.; there is very little doubt, however, that it was the necessary result of his position. By every consistent promoter of High Church principles James III. must have been regarded as his legitimate monarch. It had been found impossible to reconcile a large number of excellent clergymen of the Church of England to a departure from the recognized law of hereditary succession in favour of William and Mary, notwithstanding the evidence James II. had afforded them of his intention to subvert the Establishment. The son of James had given the strongest assurances of his respect for their faith, and they could not deny his claim to the throne of his ancestors.

Englishmen who enjoy the blessings of a tolerant constitution, under the very popular successor of George I., cannot appreciate the conduct of the Tories, who found the Hanoverian Elector and his heir so obnoxious; but a careful study of the conflict of religious and political opinion that had been carried on for nearly a century, will prove that such conduct was as much the result of circumstances as of principles. The sufferings endured by the nonjurors when they abandoned the comforts of a good social position, rather than act against their convictions, entitle them to our sympathy; and those of the High Church party, who followed in their footsteps and brought ruin on themselves by their misguided zeal, are not less worthy of the same feeling. Plotting seemed to have become the normal state of the politician.

Bishop Atterbury's entire disinterestedness has been as clearly established as his entire consistency. Both Walpole and Sunderland would have given him the highest ecclesiastical appointment had he deserted his party. In his defence he asks:—

What could tempt me, my lords, thus to step out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into a higher station in the Church? There was not a man of my order farther removed from views of this kind than I am. I have a hundred times said, and sincerely resolved, that I would be nothing more than I was—at a time when I little thought of being less—whatever turns of state might happen; and I could give *an instance of this kind*—if it were proper—that would show I was in earnest.

Sunderland had died in the preceding year, but Walpole was most probably present, and ought to have appreciated the Bishop's reserve. He asked:—

Was money my aim? I always despised it; too much, perhaps, considering the occasion I may now have for it. Out of a poor bishoprick of £500 a year—for it has been clearly worth no more to *me*—I did in eight years time lay out £2,000 upon the house and the appurtenances; and because I knew the circumstances in which my predecessor left his family, I took not one shilling for dilapidations from his executors. And the rest of my income has all been spent as that of a bishop should be spent—pardon, my lords, the freedom of the expression—in hospitality and charity. Nor do I repine at that expense even *now*, not questioning in the least but that God, who has provided for me hitherto, will provide for me still. And on this Providence I securely depend.

Apparently in remembrance of the judicious reticence of the accused respecting a certain confidential negotiation, Walpole permitted him to raise money as Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester, by a renewal of leases. The timely supply was increased

by a sale of his furniture and effects at the deanery, to which his friends flocked, competing for every article till it realized a price much above its value. Others forwarded liberal contributions—the Duchess of Buckinghamshire £1,000. Symptoms of excitement in the public mind had appeared in several publications, printed about a month after the Bishop's imprisonment. A circular letter to the clergy, from Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln, written on the 18th of September, occasioned his arrest on the 24th. The Bishop of Chester, with Lord Trevor, visited Bishop Atterbury in the Tower towards the end of May. The rest of the right reverend bench awaited their reward from Walpole.

Pope has, in a contemporary letter, recorded the feelings with which he regarded his parting with the Bishop. On June 23, 1723, he writes:—

> I am at present under the afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of the truest friends I ever had, and one of the greatest men in all polite learning, as well as the most agreeable companion this nation ever had.*

Before he went on his exile, Bishop Atterbury desired permission to visit the Abbey where his admirable improvements had just been completed, including the noble north window that still retains his name; but his enemies seemed apprehensive of a rising in Westminster, as there certainly would have been at Oxford had he made his appearance there, and refused his request. They were anxious to get rid of him quietly and expeditiously. He was not

* Pope's Letters.

to show himself in any part of the metropolis, or the kingdom, except in the Thames, in the vessels, where they might be certain of the security of his person. Even with these precautions Walpole's fears were not quite allayed.

In a newspaper of the 24th of June will be found an account of the departure of the exile. This is attributed to the Duke of Wharton, then enjoying the celebrity created by his brilliant speech in his behalf in the House of Lords. We quote the following passages:—

The deprived Bishop of Rochester embarked on Tuesday last, to execute the part of his sentence which condemns him to perpetual banishment, and which obliges him, in his advanced age and feeble situation of health, to change his country and climate, and everything—but his religion. I could wish to have that prelate's style, in order to paint a true character of so great and learned a man; but the qualifications that adorn him are so conspicuous that no flowers of rhetoric are required to illustrate them. * * *

His behaviour in every station of life has shown him to be a person of the greatest wit, built upon the foundation of good sense, and directed by the strictest rules of religion and morality. He was always for maintaining the dignity and privileges of the several offices he bore in the Church, and the just way of behaviour enforced by that steadiness which was natural to him, created him many enemies among the Canons of Christ Church and Prebendaries of Westminster, who naturally must, by their own interest, be obliged to oppose any dean who should maintain the undoubted rights which he ought to enjoy; but it is hoped all those feuds will be at an end in this last-mentioned chapter, by the prudent and just choice His Majesty has made of Dr. Bradford to succeed him. His [Atterbury's] piety towards his children, and his sincerity to his friends, made him justly beloved and respected by both. No other crime can be laid to his charge but that for which he now suffers, which overbalances all his virtues.

The malice of his enemies insinuated that he would change his religion when he came into foreign countries, and be deluded into the errors of the Church of Rome. But he declared in his defence, before the House of Lords, with the strongest asseverations, "that he would die at a stake rather than abandon the principles of the Established Church of England." The cheerfulness with which he endured his fate showed him to be superior to all the calamities of life, and would induce every man to believe him innocent, had not so *great*, so *independent*, and so *uncorrupt* a majority in both Houses of Parliament declared him guilty.*

The Duke of Wharton's admiration of the illustrious exile was still more strikingly displayed in a poem in which, while describing the banishment of the great Roman orator, he refers to that of the Bishop:—

ON THE BANISHMENT OF CICERO.

As o'er the swelling ocean's tide
An exile Tully rode,
The bulwark of the Roman state—
In act, in thought, a god;
The sacred genius of majestic Rome
Descends, and thus laments her patriot's doom.

"Farewell, renown'd in arts, farewell!
Thus conquer'd by thy foe,
Of honours and of friends deprived,
In exile thou must go.
Yet go content—thy look, thy will, sedate,
Thy soul superior to the shocks of Fate.

"Thy wisdom was thy only guilt,
Thy virtue thy offence;
With God-like zeal thou didst espouse
Thy country's just defence.
No sordid hopes could charm thy steady soul,
Nor fears nor guilty numbers could control.

"What though the noblest patriots stood
Firm to thy sacred cause?

* *True Briton*, No. VIII.

What though thou couldst display the force
Of rhetoric and of laws?
No eloquence, no reason, could repel
Th' united strength of Clodius* and of Hell!

"Thy mighty ruin to effect,
What plots have been devised!
What arts, what prejudice been used,
What laws and rights despised!
How many fools and knaves by bribes allured,
And witnesses by hopes and threats secured!

"And yet they act their dark deceit,
Veil'd with a nice disguise,
And form a specious show of right,
From treachery and lies—
With arbitrary power the people awe,
And coin unjust oppression into law.

"Let Clodius now in grandeur reign,
Let him exert his power;
A short-lived monster in the land,
The monarch of an hour.
Let pageant fools adore their wooden god,
And act against their senses at his nod.

"Soon, pierced by an untimely hand,
To earth shall he descend;
Though now with gaudy honours clothed,
Inglorious is his end.
Blest be the man who does his power defy,
And dares or truly speak or bravely die!"

Layer was executed at Tyburn on the 17th of May. In the same month Plunkett and Kelly were condemned to imprisonment during His Majesty's pleasure. Squire Kelly, who had been permitted to leave his cell, fled to France. The scoundrels employed by Walpole to swear informations against their political opponents, did not all escape so easily. The infamous trade of one of them, John Middleton, was shortly afterwards discovered. He was tried, found guilty, and condemned to stand in the pillory at

* George I.

Charing Cross, when the people took that opportunity of exhibiting their detestation of Government principles, by so severely pelting their witness that he was taken down in a lifeless state; and at the coroner's inquest, which followed, the jury, equally indignant, returned a verdict of "*accidentally strangled.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BISHOP'S FAMILY.

Atterbury's Children—His Daughter Mary—Her Education and Marriage—The High Bailiff of Westminster—A Mysterious Advertisement—Osborn Atterbury at Christ Church—His Father's Letter to him—Alarm of the Bishop's Family on learning his Arrest—His Daughter denied Access to him—Her Petitions to the Lord Mayor, Lord Townshend, and Lord Carteret—The Bishop writes to Lord Townshend—Mrs. Morice permitted to see her Father—She insists on accompanying him in his Banishment—Their Embarkation—Land at Calais—Lord Bolingbroke—The Bishop goes to Brussels.

Dr. Atterbury had four children by his wife; of the two who survived, a daughter was baptized October 23, 1698. She was educated with great care and tenderness, under the joint superintendence of most affectionate parents, till Mary Atterbury became one of the principal attractions of her father's house. At this period the cultivation of the feminine intellect was carried on under principles totally different to those that seem to prevail in the present age, and filial duty was regarded as a sacred as well as a natural obligation. The Bishop's daughter was not permitted to waste much time in acquiring fashionable accomplishments; the more superficial of social graces were neglected in favour of the solid advantages of mental excellence

and moral worth. Society still possessed a large element of the vicious and the coarse, but it was passing out of the gross licentiousness that had characterized it in the third quarter of the seventeenth century: there were always women, however, whose truly womanly virtues redeemed the profligacy of their sex. Such were Mrs. Godolphin and Lady Russell, such were Mrs. Hutchinson and Lady Mordaunt;* and the daughter of John Evelyn was a worthy contemporary of the daughter of Francis Atterbury.

The Bishop's friends had scarcely time to notice the domestic blessing he had secured, when it was removed to fill another home with happiness. A worthy man, of excellent social position, had seen the treasure, and having won the regard of both parents as well as the affections of their child, was permitted to lead her to the altar. They were married by license at Bromley in May, 1715.

William was the eldest son of Thomas Morice, Esq., Paymaster of the British Forces in Portugal (where he died in 1713), and of Alice, daughter of Sir William Underhill, Knight, of Idlicote, in the county of Warwick.

Among the few public notices of him is the following, from a contemporary newspaper:—

On Sunday, November 1st, died George Wilcocks, Esq., High Bailiff of Westminster, who bought his place about two years ago of Mr. Miles for £3,000; and is succeeded by Squire Morice,

* Elizabeth, Viscountess Mordaunt, the exemplary mother of the Earl of Peterborough. Her diary was privately printed by her descendant, the Earl of Roden, in 1856. I am indebted for a copy of this highly interesting work to his lordship's son-in-law, the Marquis of Londonderry.

who married the daughter of Dr. Atterbury, the present Bishop of Rochester.

Mr. Wilcocks paid dearly for his distinction, but his successor was more fortunate, retaining the emoluments of the office, which Chamberlain describes as one "of honour and profit," in the gift of the Dean. It was, therefore, a special help to the young couple, and as it was held for life, must have shielded the young wife from any anxieties about the future.

The position of the Bishop was one of much peril, even in the early married life of the High Bailiff.

Walpole was watching for an opportunity to retaliate on his opponent. His innumerable agents were about, exaggerating and inventing information. Sham plots, which had produced lamentable mischiefs a few years before, from one of which the last Bishop of Rochester had narrowly escaped, might be repeated with greater villany and more skill. That something of this nature was apprehended by his anxious son-in-law is clear from the following reply. The Bishop thought the affair barely worth looking into:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. MORICE.

Bromley, Monday Morn, 1716.

Dear Mr. Morice,

I thank you kindly for your letter; but see not how that advertisement can possibly concern me. I have seen none of my neighbours but Mr. Bagshaw* and Mr. Swift; having sent to none, and given it out that I desire to be private. So no discourse of mine here can have given an occasion for any information. Whatever it be, let it take its course: the less we meddle in it, the better; and therefore I desire you by no means

* Minister of Bromley.

to think of satisfying your curiosity by enquiring for Number Ten. All I should think proper to do in that case, is, if there were any public or other house over against the King's Arms in the Pall Mall, I might make James (without his livery) take his stand there to-morrow and Wednesday at the time appointed, and observe who of this place then goes into that tavern; for James knows them all. But perhaps this itself would be improper, and turn to no account. However, I desire you to see if there be such a place, where he can fix himself without suspicion; and, if there be, to give yourself the trouble of a new messenger to me either to-night or to-morrow morning before seven. If I hear nothing from you on this head, I shall think no more of the matter, and perhaps the wisest thing I could do would be not to think at all of it; for it is either designed as an amusement if it relates to me, or else I am altogether unconcerned in it.

My blessing to Mrs. Morice; my wife sends hers to both of you. I am your very affectionate father, &c.*

Atterbury's only son, Osborn, having gone through the usual course at Westminster School, in May, 1722, had been elected to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford. A month later his father replied to a letter he had addressed to him. There can be no doubt that the young man's career had hitherto been satisfactory, and the tenor of the Bishop's communication speaks the desire of the parent to see him excel. He had every possible inducement to do this, and at the College must have been constantly reminded of a career that ought to have been a source of as much emulation as of pride:—

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO HIS SON OSBORN.

Bromley, June 13, 1722.

Dear Obby,

I thank you for your letter; because there are manifest

* Atterbury Papers.

signs in it of your endeavouring to excel yourself, and by consequence to please me. You have succeeded in both respects; and will always succeed, if you think it worth your while to consider what you write, and to whom; and let nothing, though of a trifling nature, pass through your pen negligently. Get but the way of writing correctly and justly, time and use will teach you to write readily afterwards: not but that too much care may give a stiffness to your style, which ought in letters by all means to be avoided. The turn of them should be always natural and easy; for they are an image of private and familiar conversation. I mention this with respect to the four or five first lines of yours, which have an air of poetry, and do therefore naturally resolve themselves into blank verse.

I send you the letter again, that you yourself may now make the same observation. But you took the hint of that thought from a poem: and it is no wonder therefore if you heightened your phrase a little when you were expressing it.

The rest is as it ought to be; and particularly there is an air of duty and sincerity in it that, if it comes from the heart, is the most acceptable present you can make me. With these good qualities an incorrect letter would please me; and without them the finest thoughts and language would make no lasting impression upon me. The Great Being says—"My Son, give me thy heart;" implying that without it all other gifts signify nothing. Let me conjure you therefore never to say anything, either in a letter or in common conversation, that you do not think; but always to let your mind and your words go together, even on the most slight and trivial occasions. Shelter not the least degree of insincerity under the notion of a compliment; which, as far as it deserves to be practised by a man of probity, is only the most civil and obliging way of saying what you really mean; and whoever employs it otherwise throws away truth for good breeding. I need not tell you how little his character gains by such an exchange.

I say not this as if I suspected that in any part of your letter you intended to write only what was proper, without any regard to what was true; for I am resolved to believe that you were in good earnest from the beginning to the end of it, as much even as myself when I tell you that I am, &c.*

* Atterbury Papers.

Walpole had lived in times when men were to be found capable of concocting the most elaborate schemes for the destruction of their political or religious antagonists, and he had in his pay unscrupulous scoundrels ready to follow their example. The Bishop had long been a source of intolerable irritation to the King's ministers, and the confidence placed in him by the Tories made it probable that his talent as a statesman and character as a Churchman might so consolidate and strengthen his party, as in time to threaten the dissolution of Whig power. A sense of common danger induced the ministers to join in an effort to effect his ruin. As we have related, he was arrested and imprisoned. The country was alarmed with rumours of a conspiracy to bring Popery and the Pretender to destroy the Protestant religion; and to excite the utmost prejudice against their helpless captive, it was styled "Bishop Atterbury's Plot." How this affected his children may be imagined; the intelligence that he had been committed to the Tower filled their hearts with dread. They lost little time in endeavouring to communicate with him.

Mrs. Morice, on going to the Tower for the purpose of seeing her father, was seized by Williamson, forced into his house, and searched; but nothing having been discovered, she was suffered to go at large. This outrage, and the further brutality of refusing her access to the prisoner, had a serious effect upon her health. The Bishop's chamber had a double guard placed outside; and when Mr. Morice at last obtained permission personally to communi-

cate with him, he was forced to holloa his sympathy, standing below in the yard, and to be content with thanks shouted to him by the prisoner from an upper window. Books sent to enable Dr. Atterbury to beguile the tedious hours were stopped, and every thing that vindictive malice could suggest was had recourse to, to render confinement intolerable.

MR. MORICE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

September 7, 1722.

My Lord,

Not being able to have access to your lordship by means of your close confinement,* I thought it became my duty to you to act, even without your directions, in what I thought might be for your service. Accordingly, this day the following petition was prepared to be offered to the Court at the Old Bailey; and Sir Constantine Phipps, seconded by Mr. Wynne, made a motion to have the prayer in your behalf recorded; but the Court did not think they had sufficient authority to receive the same.—I am, &c.†

Mrs. Morice's anxiety for her father's health increased, and she addressed the Lord Mayor, Lord Townshend, and Lord Carteret.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Stewart, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, and the rest of His Majesty's Justices assigned to deliver the gaol of Newgate of the prisoners therein, and also to His Majesty's Justices of Oyer and Terminer for the City of London and County of Middlesex.

The humble prayer or petition of Mary, the wife of William Morice, Esquire, and only daughter of Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, on behalf of the said Lord Bishop.

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* Bishop Atterbury was committed to the Tower fourteen days before the date of this letter.

† Atterbury Papers.

Sheweth:

That, by warrant under the hand and seal of Charles, Lord Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lynn, &c., bearing date the 24th of August last, the said Lord Bishop was committed to His Majesty's Tower of London, being charged therein with high treason, of which your petitioner believes he is in no respect guilty; and having been confined there ever since.

Your petitioner therefore prays, on behalf of the said Lord Bishop, that his lordship may be brought to his trial according to law for the supposed crime with which he so stands charged; or, in default thereof, that he may be bailed or discharged from his said imprisonment, pursuant to the statute or statutes in that case made and provided: and for that purpose that this Honourable Court will please to award and grant a writ of habeas corpus to be directed to the Lieutenant of His Majesty's Tower of London, or his deputy, in whose custody the said Lord Bishop still remains.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

September 7, 1722. MARY MORICE.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, &c.

The humble petition of Mary, the wife of William Morice, Esquire, and only daughter of Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Sheweth:

That your petitioner's father has been under strict confinement in the Tower of London ever since the 24th day of August last, and so closely kept that, notwithstanding her near relation to him, she has not been indulged with the liberty of seeing him. That he has long been under an ill state of health, and has frequent relapses of his illness; and it is matter of the greatest uneasiness to your petitioner that she is so entirely debarred the sight of her father under such circumstances; the concern whereof has already much added to the ill health of your petitioner.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that your lordship will take it into your favourable consideration, so that

she may have leave to visit her father under such restrictions as shall be thought proper.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

MARY MORICE.

Delivered 21st of September, 1722.

To Lord Carteret, &c.

Sheweth:

That your petitioner's said father is committed a prisoner to the Tower, where he is so closely confined that no person is suffered to speak to him, and is in a very ill state of health. Your petitioner therefore humbly prays your lordship will be pleased to give her leave to visit her father, under such restrictions as your lordship shall think proper.

But this was not more effective than the poor creature's other appeals. Nothing was allowed that could produce any gratification to the political victim. Walpole sternly kept in remembrance his own confinement in the same fortress, and seemed determined to retaliate with interest. The opponent he had found incorruptible must be punished, because he would not suffer himself to be bribed.

Month after month passed by in his dreary imprisonment, uncheered by the presence of the relative nearest and dearest to him. At last some sense of shame at this needless isolation influenced the House of Commons. His son-in-law was permitted free access to him; but this indulgence made the Bishop only long the more for the society of his daughter. His relentless enemies, however, seemed to think her presence in the fortress so dangerous, that when they conceded this favour, they made it impossible that it should afford the prisoner the comfort of which he

stood so much in need. He longed for a daughter's affection, but she was only allowed to see him in the presence of a warder. He could not bring himself to appeal to the vindictive Walpole, but with more prospect of sympathy addressed Lord Townshend.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO THE LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.

The Tower, April 10, 1723.

My Lord,

I am thankful for the favour of seeing my daughter any way, but was in hopes that the restraint of an officer's presence in respect of her might have been judged needless at a time when her husband is allowed to be as often and as long with me as he pleases without a witness;* especially since we have been parted now for near eight months, and may soon (if the Bill takes place) be separated for ever.

My lord, I have many things to say to her in relation to herself, her brother, and my little family affairs, which cannot with ease to her or me be said in the presence of others; and I dare say your lordship does not apprehend that the subject of our conversation will be of such a nature as to deserve to be in any degree watched or restrained. She has been the comfort of my life, and I shall leave her with more regret than I leave my preferments; though, when I am stripped of them, I shall have little to support me; nor is there any loss, beside that of my country, which will touch me so nearly.

Your lordship, who is known to be a tender father, will feel what I say, and consider how far it is fit to indulge me in so innocent a request. It is a little thing I ask; but nothing is little that can give any relief to a man in my sad circumstances, which deserve your lordship's compassion, and I hope will obtain it.—I am, &c.†

All the comfort she could obtain during eight months of terrible anxiety, her husband administered

* By a recent order of the House of Commons, for the purpose of assisting the Bishop in preparing his defence.

† Atterbury Papers.

in the affectionate messages he brought from the equally unhappy father. It was not in her nature to remain inactive. The Bishop had powerful friends at large, and she did her best to interest them in his behalf. It was not till the 18th of May that Lord Townshend issued the following warrant to Lord Lincoln, Constable of the Tower:—

These are in His Majesty's name to authorize and require you to permit and suffer the relations of the Bishop of Rochester, a prisoner in your custody, to have access to his lordship at all convenient hours, and also such other persons as may have business with his lordship on account of his private affairs.

It is impossible to exaggerate the intense joy Mrs. Morice experienced when made acquainted with Lord Townshend's warrant. Very little time was suffered to elapse before she once more essayed to gain entrance to her father's dungeon—not this time to be rudely assaulted by an over-zealous subordinate, but without delay to be ushered into the presence of her parent. The mingling of passionate joy with convulsive sorrow, excited by the joy of meeting after so cruel a separation, and the knowledge that this renewal of their love could only be for a brief interval, rendered the interview memorable to both. The Bishop felt that his enemies might deprive him of rank and wealth, yet must still leave him in possession of a treasure far more precious to him than either.

When he had been condemned to banishment, the next consideration was, how was he, with his infirmities and feeble state of health, to endure such a sentence? Mrs. Morice quickly made her determination.

She induced a young clerical friend to share her duty of attending the exile. The next document will show that the affair was soon arranged.

On the 1st of June, Lord Townshend issued a license, which, after the preamble, states that:—

> William Morice, Esq., and Mary, his wife (the only daughter of the said Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester), being desirous not only to travel with the said Bishop of Rochester, but also to reside with him for some time, have humbly besought us to grant to them such our leave and license as is for that purpose reserved for us to give and grant by the said Act of Parliament; and the Reverend Bartholomew Hughes, being also desirous to travel with the said Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, and to abide with him for some time, hath humbly requested us to grant him our leave and license for that purpose; all of which premises we have taken into our royal consideration, and have been graciously pleased to condescend thereto. We do by these presents give and grant unto the said William Morice and Mary, his wife, and the said Bartholomew Hughes, full liberty, leave, and license, during our pleasure, to travel with and accompany him, the said Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, into any parts beyond the seas, and, from time to time, during the stay of the said William Morice and Mary, his wife, and Bartholomew Hughes, in such parts beyond the seas, upon all lawful occasions, freely to hold, entertain, and keep intelligence and correspondence in person, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with the said Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester, or with any person or persons employed by him.

The instrument permitted the same parties to correspond with the Bishop after their return to England; moreover, licensed "all our loving subjects" to correspond with them, while they remained abroad, and after their return home. Three servants are also allowed to attend Mr. and Mrs. Morice; and five servants—for whom a separate license was granted—the Bishop.

Mary Morice had very little time to make her final preparations. On the 5th of the same month, a warrant was issued by the Commissioners of the Navy, ordering a vessel to be ready in a fortnight to take the Bishop, his retinue, and baggage from Tower Wharf, and put them on board His Majesty's ship *Aldborough*, in Long Reach, that had been appointed to convey them to Calais. Everything that earnest solicitude and forethought could suggest for the comfort of the exile had been got on board, when the Bishop, leaning on his daughter's arm, quitted the dreary fortress, and embarked with his fellow-voyagers at the Wharf.

The *Aldborough* spread her sails to the breeze as soon as Dr. Atterbury and the companions of his exile got on board. They watched the receding shore, that one of them was never to see again, till the white cliffs faded from sight. Melancholy reflections must have accompanied that last view. It could not but have been disheartening to know that the end of all he had toiled for so arduously as a student, as a priest, as a prelate, and as a statesman, was to be driven in disgrace out of the country. But Mary Morice strove to divert his melancholy; his attention was directed from one object to another, and then to the less familiar features of the opposite shore. In due time they landed at Calais, and here he ascertained that Lord Bolingbroke had just arrived, and was preparing to embark for England.

"Then I am exchanged!" exclaimed the exile.

There was something singularly suggestive in these two distinguished characters arriving at this

foreign port simultaneously—one pardoned after having had the good fortune to quarrel with the Pretender; the other condemned to perpetual banishment, after having had the ill fortune to accept the advocacy of his cause. In referring to this, Pope wrote that it was "a sign of the nation's being cursedly afraid of being over-run with too much politeness, when it could not regain one great man, but at the expense of another."*

Mrs. Morice and her husband took the tenderest care of the exile during his tedious journey from Calais to Brussels. He was in a shocking state of health; the painful disorders under which he suffered—gout and the stone—had no doubt been aggravated by the cruel usage he had received and the heavy anxieties under which he had laboured all the time of his rigorous imprisonment. The sense of the social ruin thus imposed upon him was as intolerable as the conviction of the infamous means employed to effect it.

It was soon apparent that the climate did not agree with him; probably his forced inaction and isolation agreed with him less. The Governor, the Marquis de la Priè, was a staunch ally of the English ministry, and would not sanction any visits from sympathizing compatriots. The Bishop appeared to be kept alive by an intense desire to penetrate the mystery of his prosecution, and avenge his wrongs on his persecutors; and presently came to the conclusion that he could not remain where he was. He was now a citizen of the world, and could accept service without reproach from any Power that chose

* Pope's Letters.

to offer him employment. There was, however, in his mind but one Power he ought to serve. The son of James II. had, by "the Grace of God"—the only title worthy the consideration of a High Churchman—inherited his father's incontrovertible claims to the English throne.

No one knew better the strength and resources of the Jacobites in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Bishop knew also that a revolution had within his memory been effected with less support. There was but one doubtful point in his calculations—the marked difference in the position of the two Pretenders. If he could only give a Protestant bias to James, that doubt in his sanguine mind must vanish. The hopeful prospect seems to have stimulated his energies. He laughed at the restrictions of the French Governor, and set at defiance the intrigues of Walpole. Nothing could prevent him from endeavouring to further a cause he knew to be just.

Mrs. Morice was too intent upon forwarding her father's convalescence, to attempt in the slightest degree to thwart his inclinations, or throw a cloud upon his hopes. She was sensible as well as kind, and doubtless helped with womanly tact to give him an interest in the future. She owed the Whig Government no thanks for their treatment of the Bishop; and so warm a partisan might not be the most prudent of counsellors.

END OF VOL. I.

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